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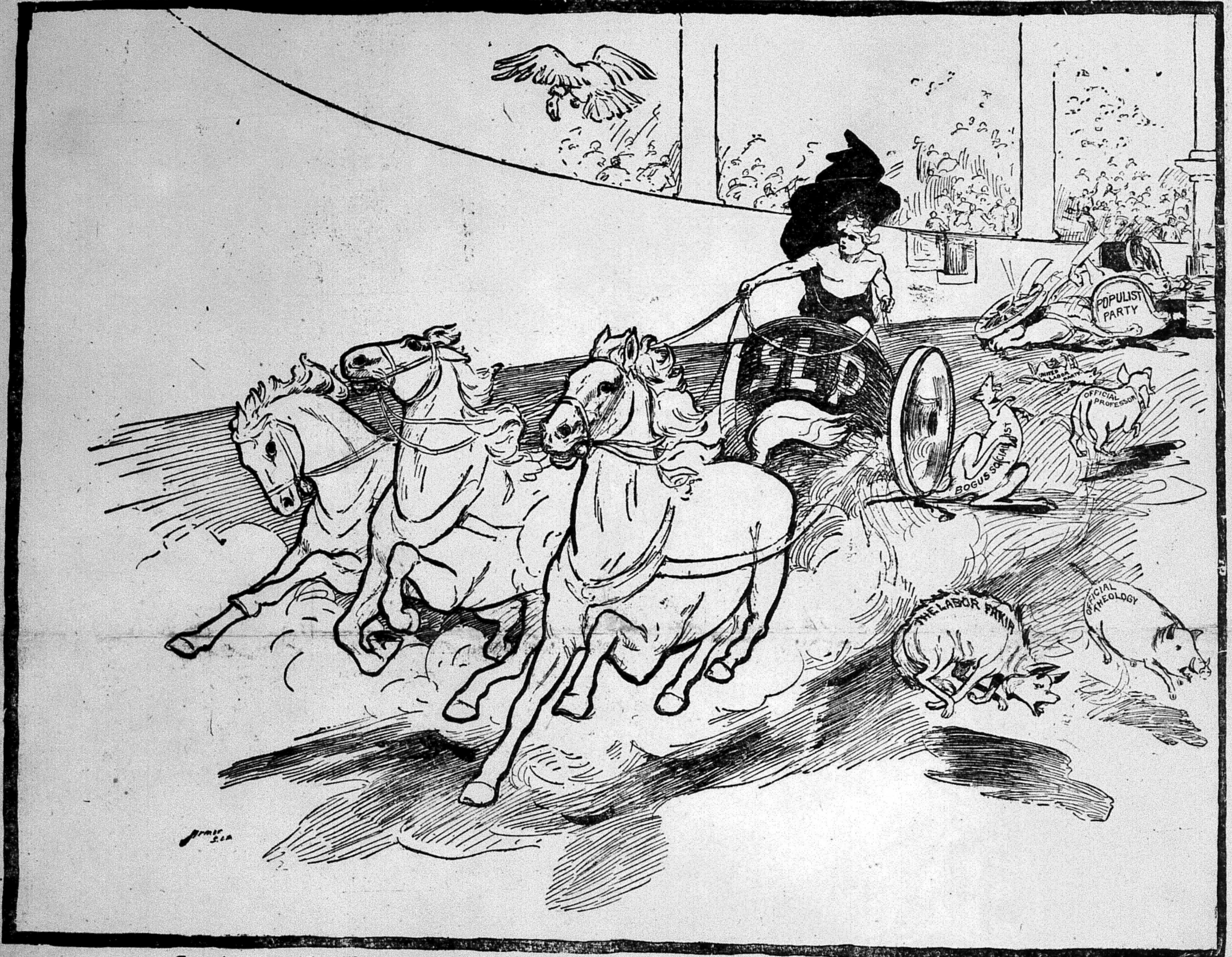

Contributed to The Third Anniversary of the DAILY PEOPLE by Sidney Armer, San Francisco, Cal.

THE CIVIC LEAGUE

OF TROY DOES NOT SEEM TO KNOW WHERE IT IS AT.

Troy, N. Y., June 23.—The Civic League, engineered by the fakirs of the city of Troy, at present does not seem to know where it is at. The fakirs announced with a great flourish of trumpets at the time of their organization that they would be the first in the political arena by nominating a complete ticket by the first of June. June has come and nearly gone, but the list of the would-be officeholders, who would save labor, has not appeared.

According to the public press, the league held a public meeting at the North End recently, presided over by President Martin Manning, of the Civic League, assisted by the following leading lights of fakirdom, who were present: "Calliope" McGovern, of the Structural Ironworkers; "Innocent" McManus, of the Cigar Makers, and last, but not least, the past grand master of them all, the only "Honest Mike" Muldoon, supported by his two secretaries, Rafferty and Deignan.

What they said and what they did at that public meeting is still a deep mystery, for the public press of the city failed to report their "ringing speeches," and up to date we can find no trace of any person who attended the meeting who can remember the least part of any address. One of their leaders recently stated that he was in favor of a "still hunt," and possibily his idea has prevailed.

The once great and powerful "Labor Leader" Leo is apparently dead or sleeping, as far as union graft is concerned. His former associates have never forgiven him for using such a strenuous method of argument as a brick on the head of a poor dupe who happened to differ with him. When the fact that the dupe or dope was a good union man and paid his dues promptly, and that the action of Leo in using the brick transformed the dupe or dope from a producer to a consumer of the sacred treasury of unionism, is considered, the horror of Leo's fellow fakirs may be faintly imagined, if not realized. Leo's case seems hopeless. Peace to his ashes of fakirs' hope, "the graft!"

The Bartenders' Union is conducting a vigorous campaign against the saloonkeepers who fail to compel their employes to join their union. They have a peculiar and highly satisfactory way of doing business, as far as the union is concerned. The proprietors of the different saloons exploit their help, but the union certainly returns the favor by squeezing the bosses. The union cares not how long hours a member works and how much less weekly stipend he receives, but insists that each bartender pay an initiation fee of ten dollars for the privilege of wearing a union button and giving the boss a card that proclaims to the public that the place is a good union saloon. As the bartenders do not, on an average, earn ten per week, the entrance price would seem large to the uninitiated, but, as one of their officers in an argument stated, that any man who could not save enough out of the saloonkeeper's money for initiation and dues had no business to be a bartender; his proper vocation was in some poor church sodality or heaven.

The union has placed Supervisor McCauley on the unfair list, for not employing union help. McCauley is blessed with a large family, consisting mostly of boys, who, in these piping days of prosperity, have not been able to secure employment; and, for want of something better to do, dutifully assist their father in slinging beer and running ward politics. But the union objects, and McCauley, in the days of union trouble, calls to his assistance ex-Alderman George Mead, for the purpose of appealing to the Federation of Labor, and upon his appearance they were referred to the Bartenders' Union; and, at the hearing designated by that body, "Eloquent" Mead, with tears in his voice, appealed to their sympathy for the position in which they had placed his friend McCauley. "What! Would you have every son of McCauley pay ten dollars?" exclaim the tearful George (it is said there are five). But, alas! George is a has-been as well as an ex-everything else, and the union did him with one blow by deciding that it was unnecessary for each son to pay. If McCauley would cough up one lone ten spot all would be forgiven, and all the sons could work or not, as they pleased. A card would be granted to be used in his front window, and all would be lovely—a decision that will no doubt be used as a precedent in union circles for a long time to come. McCauley is not an easy giver-up, and to the present writing has not yet coughed, although the weather has been unreasonably cool for this season of the year.

SHADOWS AHEAD.

Financial News That the Capitalist Press Suppresses.

The recent interview given out by J. Pierpont Morgan has given birth to a vast amount of literature bearing on the question of undigested securities. Various lists of so-called undigestibles have been printed, but the following is taken by Wall street men to be an excellent summary of undigested securities:

J. P. Morgan issues, $655,000,000; undigested industrials, $780,500,000; partially undigested railroad issues, $405,000,000; combined grand total, $1,840,500,000.

Unmarketable securities: Securities estimated in the hands of the underwriting syndicates not yet placed with outside investors, $300,000,000. Prospective issues authorized: Railroad and industrial, $550,325,000; municipal bonds, $14,000,000; total, $564,325,000. Foreign loans and issues: Foreign loans issued this year, $76,000,000; foreign not yet issued, $337,500,000; capital issues in London, $111,000,000; total, $524,000,000. Grand total, $1,791,757,000.

Just what looms up as an undigestible security is a question that has given rise to considerable argument of late. Many Wall street men hold that a security that cannot be sold in the market at any price can be classified among the undigested issues. The shares of many of the high-class issues have been held for years because of the belief of their holders that they are worth more than the quoted prices. Among the securities that financiers put in the list as undigested issues are: International Mercantile Marine, Associate Merchants' Company, International Nickel Corporation, International Harvestor Company, American Steel Foundries, Pacific Packing & Navigation Company, Railway Steel Spring Company, United Box Board & Paper Company, U. S. Realty & Construction Company, Union Steel Company, Universal Tobacco Company, and Virginia-Carolina Chemical Company.

The U. S. Steel new bond syndicate is formed for $100,000,000, and it is understood but $25,000,000 have been disposed of, leaving the rest in the hands of the Morgan syndicate. The Chicago, Burlington & Quincy joint 4's syndicate was dissolved some weeks ago, and out of a total of $100,000,000 but a quarter were sold—the balance being in the vaults of J. Pierpont Morgan & Company.

Then there is the U. S. Shipbuilding Company having a capital of $70,000,000 which has not been disposed of and which was instrumental in causing the firm of Dresser & Co. to go under for $1,250,000; brought about the reorganization of the Trust Company of the Republic—and at time of writing may cause Morgan to depose Charles M. Schwab from the presidency of the U. S. Steel Corporation, because Schwab's role in this concern smacks of crookedness.

In speaking with a reporter for one of the big dailies in regard to the choked condition of the Wall street markets a prominent banker yesterday said:

"Many of the unabsorbed securities, in my judgment, will not be marketed for years to come. That is to say, they will not get as far as the 'digestion stage.' This refers, of course, only to those that can be held back till a more opportune time arrives. This is only what merchants have to do under similar conditions, and while the syndicates or security dealers cannot very well advertise 'bargain sales,' they may have to offer material inducements of some sort to attract purchasers. The banks, in my judgment, will not care to extend their syndicate loans, and while they may have to do so in some instances, they may make it advantageous to the syndicate managers to sacrifice their offerings so as to close out their deals.

"Five hundred million dollars in new stocks in this city alone seeking digestion and the banks not having the wherewithal to do what they are asked to do in carrying the large volume of securities at present unabsorbed—what does the future hold forth for the managers of the syndicates? But one thing in my opinion, and that a PANIC, caused by the under-consumption of securities."

COWEN'S CALIBRE

OHIO "SOCIALIST" PARTY NOMINEE FOR GOVERNOR SHOWS HAND.

Cleveland, O., June 23.—Your correspondent notes that Isaac Cowen, erstwhile of Cleveland, received on May 30 the nomination of the Civic Federation (I beg pardone, it was a slip of the pen; (I beg pardon, it was a slip of the pen; ernor. To show what sort of a Socialist (?) Isaac is, I quote the following "Personality" culled from 1-10th Kangaroo and 9-10ths pure and simple Cleveland Citizen, issue of May 30.

"Organizer Isaac Cowen, of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, is doing effective work in Philadelphia. (Note that word, effective.) Recently, Mr. Cowen visited Johnstown, Pa., and found labor conditions in a deplorable state. Well, Pennsylvania is a Deplorable State, anyway, with its labor faking Mitchells and satellite Mother Jones, who, like the stormy petrel, is always where there is trouble, scenting a chance to fish in troubled waters—and its hundreds of thousands of miners who regularly walk up to the polls and vote the old party tickets.)

"It is a paradise for spies, scabs and cheap labor," he writes. "The Cambria Iron and Steel Company controls every-

Continued on Page Six.

LIGHT AT LAST

Or How to Edit a Truly Scholarly and Brilliant Socialist Paper

[The leading bogus Socialist papers—"Seattle Socialist," "Worker," "Social Democratic Herald," "Cleveland Citzen," "Chicago Socialist," the now defunct San Francisco "Class Struggle," and "Advance," etc., etc.—do not happen to be the models that stood for the below trenchant satire, written by Olive M. Johnson, Minneapolis, Minn. But they should not feel slighted. The beauty that posed as a model—The Feribault "Referendum"—combines the beauties of all, and all of them were in the artist's mind and guided her brush. So they are all "in it."]

He alone is an ninny who shuts his eyes and absolutely refuses to see the light, even when it is thrown directly in his face, for we are all liable to mistakes; yes, we are even liable to persist in our mistakes stubbornly, though, in a measure, honestly—when we don't know any better. But when we have found ourselves to be in the wrong, when facts are brought forth which really amount to crushing evidence, we ought to go at once to confession, freely admit our frailties, admit our previous blindness and offer repentence. There is no shame in this, for we are HUMAN, after all.

Now, dear comrades, we have all been very much in the wrong; let us hope it has been blindly, which does not make the wrong less, but only the forgiving of it easier—if we will only change our course now when light, after long waiting, is here. Let us wake up!

This light was brought to me yesterday by mere accident, and I hasten to let you see its redient rays. It came from Faribault, Minn. (Oh, Faribault, thy name shall henceforth grace the annals of history!) in the shape of

"The Referendum,"
"By E. B. Ford."
"Subscription Price, $1.00 Per Year;
40c for Six Months."
"The Only Socialist Paper in Minnesota.
"Established June 11, 1899.
"Organ of the Socialst Party."

That is the light! Now, what did it light? A particularly dark and unpenetrable corner of our ignorance.

You all know—you have all heard it—it has long been a most logical (—centre) argument—that the great fault with The People is that it is not attractive enough. The headlines of its editorials and other articles, for example, are not such as to induce the new beginner to go on; but rather repulse him from the start; and the articles in themselves are very unreadable, abusive, offensive, slanderous, infamous, unscholarly, harsh, rigorous, gruff, disgusting, sickening, revolting and sundry other epithets, which you will kindly pick out for yourselves from Webster's or The Century, in order to save time and get them all. These arguments have been strong, pointed, conclusive, indisputable and convincing enough for a long time; yet, like hats—talking hats, of course— we of the S. L. P. have stubbornly persisted in meeting them with something like this: "The idea! How you do talk! Where in this broad land can you find a cleaner paper than ours? The headlines! Why, they are pointed and telling enough for any one who cares in the least to look for truth. Abuse, smut, dirt, slang, foul language—where do you find it? Point it out! Nonsense, you are prejudiced and do not read the paper understandingly. The writers, indeed, call a spade a spade. You may consider it unscholarly that they are not aware of the Latin, Green, Hindoostanee, Ancient Egyptian or, at least, the Iroquois Indian appellation for the same, so that it could be put in language so 'scholarly' as to be incomprehensible."

Well, thus, as you know, we have battered blindly away for "a bad cause" persistently, insisting that if, indeed, we were not perfection—which, at least, we were willing to admit we were not—we were well on the road to our ideal's goal. Oh, how terrible, how wicked, is ignorance when it will bray! But yet there is one redemption for us. It is one thing to accuse, to pick to pieces, to critisize, to condemn; but it is another to point the way to righteousness, to set a bright, lustrous, shining, radiant, brilliant example; and such have our accusers hitherto failed to do—hitherto, do I say? I mean, of course, until the day of grace May 16, in the year of our Lord 1903, when it saw light in the shape of that date's issue of "The Referendum."

Now, indeed, has light not only broken, but has literally poured in on us; in spite of our mole natures will we be forced to see. Reform is indeed much needed. Proper language in our paper, that is just what we ought to have and now, at last, with the light spread by the "Referendum," ought our thick skulls to be able to comprehend what our critics have been driving at all this time!

Now, of course, what you ought to do is to send $1 in cash, and precise orders when to stop—if not, it says, it will continue coming forever and a day, and longer, if you do not pay all obligations in full—to the "Referendum," so that you may get light and ever more light for yourselves. But if you have not saved your money (maybe you have blowed it in for Daily People loan certificates and the like useless commodities), you ought not to miss the lesson anyhow; so I herewith proceed to give you an idea of what headlines, articles and language should, would and could be in a "true and comprehensive exponent of scientific Socialism," taken from the aforesaid copy of the aforesaid "Referendum," the only Socialst paper in Minnesota—in fact, the only Socialist paper established June 11, 1899, which is a great thing in itself.

Among sundry "Workers of all countries unite"—with or without Karl Marx—and a host of advs., from that of a matrimonial magazine to that of the town saloon, are scattered the following pearls of wisdom:

—1—

"ONE DAY IN HELL."

Being a congregation of "attractive little items," of which the following may serve as examples:

"Two banks in Indiana failed."

"Seven thousand dollars offered for conviction of the parties who murdered the sister of a priest at Lorain, Ohio."

"Editor kills an attorney at Dahlat, Texas."

"New Hampshire prohibition law repealed."

"Chicago girls only wear mourning two months for their husbands. Many are glad they are dead, because they marry for love, you know!

"Seven thousand harvester machine employes out for better wages and the inalienable right to organize. Hundreds of policemen, paid by tax on the working people, guarding the monopolists and driving the workers off the street. Something like Russia."

—2—

"HOVELS FOR THEMSELVES.
MANSIONS FOR THIEVES."

Being a "bright, sparkling, readable artilce," of which the following may serve as an example:

"Yes, and the working people of Faribault have elected silk-stocking brigades for twenty years, and furnished wet and dry nurses, silk stocking and automobiles, while the said working mules wear no stocking and stay in the 'bull pen.'"

—3—

"Chattle Slavery in the Solid South'—Upheld by Teddie and the 'Mule' Party the Nation Over."

"This old criminal party of rotten politicians, from the 'Solid South' to the inflicted North, is one fester of corruption, its ever crying symball reeks with murder and treason from ocean to ocean. Its crimes among the poor white children in the Southern factories is only intensified by the gang of criminal Republican politicians at Washington, who, with that 2x6 lung-splitter at the head of our new military program, framed to shoot down workingmen just as soon as they become educated so they join a union to protect themselves against the capitalist thugs, stands pat for every crime committed by the beastly gang of murderers and 20th century slave sellers and owners, because there are dollars—profit—in it."

"Now, in time of 'peace' and 'prosperity,' the greatest preparations are being made by Teddy the strenuous, and his gang of Morgans. This don't jibe well with you fellows declaration of 'peace.'"

The smooth, rippling, "clear" langtage in this one will inevitably "lead" us on "to look for more." This is the next we get:

—4—

"THE DAM FOOLS.
"Republican and Democratic Farmers Turn Nihilists and Anarchists and Blow Up Dams."

The moral of this is summed up in this piece of profound philosophy:

"If these dam fool farmers had two ideas above an oyster they wouldn't stand any such dam business, but would dam soon vote to own those dams; then there would be no dam lumber companies damming up their dam lands! But instead of voting to own the dams, the dam fools proceed to the anarchist-nihilist act and blew the dam thing out, and now they will be forced to pay several thousand dollars for their dam nonsense and go to jail for a dam long time.

"It takes a long time to learn some dam fools anything. E. B. Ford."

—5—

"TO ENSLAVE FARIBAULT'S CHILDREN.
"Faribault's Council Re-Bonds the People to the Great Western for Nothing Until Socialism Comes, for $45,000 in Gold."

In which the coaxing spirit of E. B. Ford, among the rest, gives vent thus:

"To a man who thinks, as he enters this council chamber, as this crew of card-shufflers gaze into the foul air of political corruption, seasoned with commercial club desert, it makes him think of the fable of the Arabian Nights, of the "Forty Thieves" or the gang of gamblers Christ drove out of the temples 19-hundred years ago."

And thus:

"Those bonds call for $50,000, and you have been paying 4½ per cent interest ever since or a total interest of
$45,000.
and still you owe this gang of highway plug hat robbers the original (less $5000)
$50,000.

N"ow this gang of political pirates have tied you down to the grand stone for another term of 14 years, until 1916 which calls for
$25,000 More Interest,
or a total interest for the 34 years of
$70,200.

And still you owe the original $45,000. What else have you done?

"After you have paid all this interest, you unmitigated fools, that you are built the road, turned it over to a pack of the most unprincipled pirates out of the penitentiary, then turned right around and paid the same ought-to-be jail birds 3-cents a mile for 34 years to ride on your own roads, and paid them, in a close estimate,
six million dollars."

Next we find

—6—

"CHIPS FROM THE BONE YARD."

Space admits only of the exhibition ot a couple of chips.

"I see the fellow who was caught tapping the city water mains for his private use, when he was water commissioner, and who was forced to pay $32 for his steal, is back here again, arm in arm with the legal and illegal thieves. You can bet some poor devil is going to catch goudy."

"The press dispatches say that Edison Jr., has invented a machine to make men think. For gods saks send a consignments of the machines to Fairbault and lets see if we can learn some of the Faribault junk heads of working men to think."

And, last but not least, we find this:

—7—

"THIEVES KNOW
THEIR FRIENDS.
"Many of Them Present One Laurels for Loyalty to Them—Bankers and Commercial Club Sharks.

"Northfield, Minn., May 30.—The press dispatches state that J. P. Heatwole, the man who has served capitalism, Morgan, Hanna & Co., in congress from the Third Minnesota district for several years, and who declined another nomination, in order to get to the U. S. Senate to represent Jim Hill and J. P. Morgan, at a salary from the government of $8000 a year and with an 'incentive' to get $2,000,000, a year on a side, was presented the other day with a $1000 tea set from his friends of the graft from the different gambling joints and skinflints of the cities of the Third district.

"The Faribault Journal, the Buck-Heatwole-Hill-Morgan official organ, prints a list of bankers, wheat gamblers, political jockies, commercial flunkies and capitalist robbers, who donated this tea set.

"How delightful to the farmers and laborers of this district, who this man Heatwole has legislated against, to know of this $1000 tea set, bought out of the stealings from their labor, and the gang who gave it to him.

"This proletarian class can drink hay tea out of a gourd. Whoopl
"E. B. Ford."

Editorially the brilliancy of Mr. Ford's genius breaks out in:

"CRIME BY GOVERNMENT LICENSE."

as a sample of which this does very well:

"What do you think of a government that will make it legal to commit crime; make it legal to lie, misrepresent and to allow one class of citizens to poison another class because there is profit in it, and grant a license to any body who may put up dollars to do these things?"

In another squib we get very interesting information as to the much disputed data of the invention of gunpowder:

"Every government on the face of the earth for four thousand years, has been organized for the weak to rule over the strong, with the rifle and the Gatling gun, because, like the horse the strong are ignorant of their power."

Now, "Pope," if you are not "entirely beyond recall," as they say, you will come to your senses and learn from this, your intellectual superior, how to make your headlines "attractive so as to draw your readers on," to "shape your language to suit the common people," to be "scholarly," "decent," "comprehensive," 'witty," "radiant," to spreak "the truth, the whole truth and nothing but truth."

And, comrades and contributors to The People, if you are not all "lost souls," take heed and return to the broad path, leave off using slang—"slang," says Victor Hugo, "is the language of people in darkness"—leave off using bad terms and abuse, it boots nothing; and, of all things, leave off swearing. It is a habit that belongs to the "working men lunk heads," and one which great—truly great—men, like Ford, are above. Use proper, polished, flowery language. It wins in the long run. The secret of journalistic success is to always use "the right word in the right place."

The invention of the Linotype has at least brought one blessing to suffering humanity, viz.: There is no danger of running out of Hs and Ds and other much needed letters in the composing room, as the blessed machine can use and reuse and abuse its scant supply the whole day long. So keep it up! What we want is to get the people to "Read, investigate, think"—so says the "Referendum."

One thing more we might learn from our enterprising contemporary is how to increase our subscription list. Among its adds. is this one:

"SUBSCRIBE FOR YOUR
HOME PAPER FIRST,
THEN TAKE
THE ST. PAUL DAILY NEWS
One Year.........$1.00
Six Months.........75c
(Payable in Advance.)

An up-to-date paper, published every evening, except Sunday—independent in politics, fearless in criticism, and with the people first, last and all the time.

THE ST. PAUL DAILY NEWS
ST. PAUL, MINN.
DAILY NEWS
REFERENDUM $22
APPEAL TO REASON $22"

Now, what is the matter with us offering The Monthly People and the "Fire-Side Companion," and say some local paper of our respective States—as the New York "Journal" in New York, the Chicago "American" in Illinois, the "Referendum" in Minnesota, the San Francisco "Chronicle" in California, etc.—for a total of, say 49c, less than the three would cost separately. Here is a proposition with a bargain-counter inducement in it.

This is the system of "sharks," so let us do in Rome as the Romans.

Olive M. Johnson.

Minneapolis, June 14, 1903.

P. S.—E. B. Ford is not a common little light, such as spring up of themselves all over the "Socialist" party. Oh, no! The "Laborer," which is, or at least was a paper of the "Socialists" of Minneapolis and St. Paul, in September, last year, said of E. B. Ford:

"Comrade Ford is back at the old post, and expects to continue throwing an occasional hot shot into the enemy's stronghold. It is currently reported that his magazines are fully stocked up with all kinds of ammunition for the fall's campaign. Look out for lively times when he begins to let off his fireworks."

So, you see, Ford is a "big gun."

O. M. J.

THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

What is a textile worker? An operative in the textile industry may be anything from the five-year-old tot assisting its mother behind the frames in a South Carolina cotton mill to a wiry French-Canadian chasing 22 Northrop looms in Manchester, N. H.; from the "kid" who should be at school, but is pushing cans of wool into the automatic feeders at the back [illegible] a row of carding machines for from two to four dollars a week, to the crack weaver who can produced "perfect cloth" on an up-to-date Knowles loom, with the most complicated pattern, in fancy worsted. The operations performed in transforming the raw material into finished product are many and varied in both cotton and woolen manufacture.

Because of the extreme youth (infancy) of the children exploited in mills of the South, which are to a great extent owned by the same capitalists who control those of Fall River, New Bedford, Lowell and Manchester, there is a greater range of age in the textile than in any other industry. And, again, because of the shrewdness of the New England capitalists, the writer believes that there is also a greater range of nationalities among the operatives than in any other one industry in the country. This came about through the efforts of the bosses to reduce wages, particularly in the "unskilled" departments. For instance, it will be remembered that a large number of the dye house hands among the Lowell strikers were Greeks. Most of these men when first employed were "greenhorns," whose ignorance of the language and conditions of this country, and their necessity to get work in order to exist, rendered them easy prey for the bosses, who are always on the lookout for just such chances to get operatives to work cheaper.

Thousands of men and boys, often unable to speak a word of English, have been brought into the mills of New England in this manner, often, too, having to pay blackmail to bosses and foremen for the privilege of being permitted to earn from $4 to $6 or $7 per week. However, when these "foreigners" become acquainted with things and learn of the swindle that has been practiced on them, they often prove to be good fighters when a strike is on.

Much has appeared in the newspapers of late regarding the strike of the cotton operatives at Lowell, Mass., which prove so ignominious a failure, thanks to the weakness and ignorance of the rank and file, which was a natural result of pure and simple training and leadership. Much also has been printed from time to time about the conditions in this branch of the textile industry, smallness of wages, woman and child labor, etc., and those who have never visited a textile city may well wonder whether conditions are as bad as reports would lead one to believe.

Some sixty years ago the great English novelist, Charles Dickens, during a short stay in this country visited Lowell, and after returning to England wrote in his "American Notes" a glowing description of the operatives of that time. Then the city had but a couple of little mills, and the girls so enthusiastically described by Dickens were farmers' daughters, who worked in the mills for a short period for the sake of the extra pin money and the "stake" it enabled them to save up, after which they went back to the farm and usually got married. There were then fewer spindles in the whole Merrimac Valley than are in one single mill of the many that line the river bank to-day, and those girls were in a better position to demand and obtain wages than the victims of the present who are condemned to permanent incarceration in the gloomy prisons wherein tens of thousands waste away their lives for a mere pittance.

Those who have read Dickens' "American Notes," will have noted that the famous writer, after expressing the gratification afforded him by the discovery of an intelligence and character of so high an order among the mill operatives, makes this remark: Many of the circumstances whose strong influence has been at work for years in our (England's) manufacturing towns have not arisen here."

The factory system was then practically in its infancy in the United States and the baneful influence of generations of factory life, which had been exerted upon the British workers, was not apparent.

That time, and for long afterward, was a period of small production as compared with present methods. Machinery was more crude, the individual worker could not produce so much, a greater amount of skill was required, there was no great reserve army of the unemployed competing for a chance to sell their labor power. All these things, coupled with the competition between the small concerns, enabled the textile workers, in common with the rest of the working class, to demand and obtain a goodly proportion of the product of their labor.

If a modern Dickens were to stand on Central street in the city of Lowell at 6 o'clock to-morrow evening and watch the troops of tired out, emaciated men, women and children to be seen among the thousands of wage slaves wearily wending their way to their homes, often to miserable corporation tenements or cheap boarding houses, he would come to a vastly different conclusion from that of the Dickens of old, who said that no comparison could be made between the operatives of this country and England. In the days of the latter there were no modern ringspinning machines, Northrop looms or the hundreds of other high-speed devices for increasing production to be found in the colossal establishments of modern capitalism.

Despite "prosperity" and the bluff indulged in by pure and simple fakirs, conditions and wages in the cotton industry have been and are growing worse every year. Note the statements published after the ending of the Lowell strike last week, wherein it was shown that during the twelve weeks 17,800 operatives had lost approximately $1,300,000, or about $73 each, a little over $6 per week. This tallies with one published in the Boston Globe a year ago, in which the average wages paid in each of the Lowell mills was given. The amounts ranged from $6.25 to $8.25 per week, the latter being the highest figure. When it is remembered that this includes the higher priced men, slasher tenders, at $9.50 to $11.50; loom fixers, at $10.50 to $13; foremen and overseers of numerous departments, whose wages range from $15 to $50 per week, it will be readily seen how low is the average pay of the great mass of the operatives. These figures apply to all cotton centers in Massachusetts, New Hampshire and elsewhere in the North, and the South is still worse. It most of them strikes and reductions have taken place in the past few years.

At Lawrence, for instance, the Atlantic weavers contended that the newly installed machinery turned out a finer grade of work, required more labor than heretofore and left them proportionately underpaid. These points were conceded by the agent; but he refused to grant the increase demanded. A compromise was accordingly effected. This argument and course is pursued by the manufacturers consistently and profitably. It was advanced in the New Bedford strike five years ago. After its ending the strikers found they were earning 20 per cent. less than formerly. Wages then averaged about $8 a week. The weavers who struck in the Lancaster Mills at Clinton last year claimed they could only earn from $5 to $6 a week!

This is in accord with the downward tendencies of wages in the New England cotton mills. A young manufacturer estimated recently that weavers' wages in 1870 averaged from $50 to $60 a month; in 1890, from $30 to $35. The American Wool and Cotton Reporter last fall figured the decline in operatives' wages at 50 per cent. for the 20 years preceding 1900. The average yearly wages paid in the cotton factories in Massachusetts, according to the census of 1890, was $335. This was over $100 LESS than the yearly average wages paid to all other labor, according to the same census. In the Southern States it is said by some that weekly wages there are 40 per cent. lower, while hours are 20 per cent. longer. A conservative estimate made on a most favorable basis to New England places the wage difference at 15 per cent., hours being the same. With these facts before him, where is the man who will contend that the increased productivity of machinery means more wages for labor under capitalism?

Along with the introduction of new machinery has gone the intensity of labor. There are few old men in New England cotton factories. The strains wear the men out before they are forty-five. Young men and women are constantly put in their places as a consequence. Woman and child labor abound. It is not an uncommon sight to see whole families go into the mills at daybreak to remain until nightfall. Household arrangements are often reversed. When the men cease working they attend to household duties, while their wives are in the mill. In most of the cases the mill hands live in company tenements. During strikes, eviction is resorted to to force them into submission.

In the South the employment of children has become a national scandal. Tots nine and ten years of age are required to work 66 hours a week. The fathers with the largest families are given the preference in the matter of employment. Southern families are, as a rule, exceptionally large. Company tenements, company stores, company schools, company towns, without any so-called representative or democratic government, in some cases; company this, company that, company every other thing, holds sway in the South. In no section of the country is capitalist paternalism more conspicuous than in this section; which, since its "help" is mainly native born, is least "contaminated by the low ideals of foreign immigration."

All the textile workers suffer from inhaling dust and fluff, the cotton operatives worst of all. The latter are especially liable to rheumatism on account of the excessive humidity. Noise and floor vibration have their effect also, particularly upon the women. The intensity of the work, too, tends to make nervous wrecks of many of them of both sexes.

In the weave rooms, where from 2 to 4, and on narrow print cloth 5 to 8 looms were the limit a few years ago, now the two-loom jobs are increased to four, the fours and fives to six and eight, and the old eight-loom work is now run on the Northrop, known as the Draper loom, with its automatic magazine and self-feeding shuttles, and the weaver operates from twelve to twenty-four of them, according to the grade of work.

There is a grim joke going the rounds of the cotton mills about an Englishman newly arrived entering a mill one morning and being struck with wonder at seeing so few weavers getting ready to start up. On being told he could have a job, he asked the second hand to point out his looms, whereupon the second hand, picking up a broom, threw it with all his might down the alley toward a post at the end of the eighteenth loom, saying as he did so: "Take this row." When the Englishman recovered from his amazement, he is said to have exclaimed: "Not on y'r bloomin'-loife; ho'il try some h'other road to live before ho'il start h'up h'eighteen bloody shuttle-bangers loike these 'ere h'outfit!"

The woolen and worsted workers have long ago thrown the labor fakir off their backs and are at present building up a strong organization of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, which experience has taught them is their only hope on the economic field, but the cotton operatives still have their Tanseys, Hibbards, Rosses, Jacksons, Cahills and others, hence the Lowell "con" game and the general failure of their efforts. When the cotton workers awaken to this fact and follow the woolen workers' example they may then and only then hope for some relief, as the writer, acquainted with both branches, will endeavor to show in a future article. "Take-Up."

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

Attention is called to the good work that has been done for the Party Press by the comrades of the Ninth and Twelfth Assembly Districts, of Brooklyn. Three or four comrades have visited almost all of the 221 enrolled voters in their districts, and almost all of them have subscribed for The Monthly or Weekly People or bought literature.

Comrade Weiss, of Brooklyn, who has been making a house-to-house canvas for several weeks, secured thirteen subscribers for The Weekly, one for the Monthly People and one for the German organ—the Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung—during the past week.

Comrade Plamonden, of the Twenty-third Assembly District, New York, secured twelve Weekly subscribers, all yearlies except one.

The Frist, Third and Fifth Assembly Districts are keeping up their good work for The Sunday People. Last Sunday they broke the record by selling 176 papers.

The Fourteenth and Eighteenth made a start last Sunday. Three comrades from those districts sold 37 papers.

Comrade Francis, of the French Branch, sold 50 papers.

There are a great many districts in New York and Brooklyn that are doing nothing to push the Party Press. We should like to see all the districts represented on the streets Sunday morning selling Sunday Peoples. Those who do not care to sell papers on the streets can do their share of the work to build up the Party Press by getting subscribers for The Weekly and Monthly People among their shopmates, by visiting enrolled voters, and in numerous other ways.

The value of The Weekly People is being recognized in England. Comrade Alfred Harbut, of Southampton, renews his order for six copies each week, and writes as follows: "As there are a few comrades who are trying to form a branch of the Socialist Labor Party in this town and district, we shall want some more literature presently. As I have resigned the literature secretaryship of the rotten Social Democratic Federation, I shall have more time to devote to push your literature, and therefore you can rely on me to be one of your agents in the south of England. Let me know what you are prepared to let me have 500 of your pamphlets for—all sorts."

John Fitzgerald, of London, Eng., sends us four yearly subscribers for The Weekly People.

J. W. O'Brien, of Dublin, Ireland, sends five subscriptions to The Weekly People.

In Australia, too, the comrades appreciate the value of the Party Press. H. S. Bennett, of Melbourne, requests us to increase his order for Monthly Peoples from six to twelve copies.

Thomas McKimmie, of Montreal, Canada, is a new hustler for subscribers. He starts out with six Weeklies and five Monthlies this week.

Comrade Jackson, of Brinton, Pa., who was the winner of the second prize offered by a Colorado sympathizer, has declined to accept the same, and requests that we reoffer the prize, so that some one who is perhaps not as able to buy books as he may get them. The prize consists of two cloth-bound books—"Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," by Engels, and "Paris Commune," by Marx—or other Labor News publications to the value of $1. We will give this prize to the person sending in the largest number of subscribers to The Weekly People during the month of July.

Comrade Jackson's list this week contains nine Weekly subscriptions, all yearlies except two.

..J. Charles Pierson, of Illinois, is doing splendid work. He spent five days in Rock Island, and secured fifty-three Monthly and seven Weekly subscribers. Considering that he finds time to do this after addressing five street meetings, selling eighty-five books and getting two new members for the party, we must say that he is a hustler.

Comrade Hellberg of Somerville, Mass., orders a bundle of twenty-five Monthlies and writes: "I am going to work for subscribers."

Two comrades in Madison, Me., are working for the Party Press. M. T. McMann sends in seven Weekly and five Monthly subscribers. Glennie Clark sends six Monthly subscribers.

Other comrades who have sent in five Weeklies or over, or ten Monthlies or over, during the past week are as follows: J. R. Strupel, St. Louis, Mo., 6 Weeklies and 3 Monthlies; R. Berdan, Paterson, N. J., 10 Weeklies; Ben Hilbert Jr., Hamilton, O., 8 Weeklies; C. M. Carlson, Tacoma, Wash, 5 Weeklies and 22 Monthlies; C. J. Michael, Denver, Colo., 5 Weeklies and 19 Monthlies; F. P. Janke, Indianapolis, Ind., 10 Monthlies; F. Bohmbach, Boston, Mass., 6 Weeklies; Max Stern, Schnectady, N.Y., 2 Weeklies and 6 monthlies; L. A. No. 345, San Francisco, Cal., 5 Weeklies; Ninth and Twelfth Assembly Districts, Brooklyn, N. Y., 11 Monthlies; R. W. Stevens, Baltimore, Md., 2 Weeklies and 10 Monthlies; Thomas Barker, Vancouver, B. C., 1 Weekly and 11 Monthlies; William Glusenkamp, Batesville, Ind., 10 Monthlies; L. Lazarus, Brantford, Ont., 2 Weeklies and 12 Monthlies; H. S. James, Toronto, Ont., 5 Weeklies and 4 Monthlies.

The total number of Weeklies it 211, a gain of nineteen over the previous week. The total for the Monthly is 316, a gain of eighty-seven over the previous week. Let's see if these figures cannot be doubled.

The 30,000 edition of the leaflet entitled "The Difference," printed in May, has been exhausted and another 30,000 are being printed.

Comrades who desire to do effective work among their shopmates should order a bundle of Weeklies containing a trade article which deals with the trade at which they work. Distribute them as sample copies, and try to get the men to subscribe.

A GRAND VICTORY!

Iron Molders Win Great Union Fight at Hamilton, O.

[Special Correspondence to The Daily and Weekly People.]

Hamilton, O., June 25.—The strike of the iron molders at Long & Allstetters, which was inaugurated on May 20, and lasted seventeen days, is ended. It was one of the most stupendous, gigantic "victories" ever won!

The molders in this shop went on strike because one man in the shop would not join the Union, No. 68, of the International Molders' Union, of North America. Well, after being out seventeen days, for which they received $7 strike benefit, they went back to work, because the man who would not be bamboozled quit the shop and went to work somewhere else.

Now, the beautiful part of it all is that the strikers went back to work with another man who is not a union man, and don't intend to join. Maybe the paltry $7 strike benefit had something to do with that.

Now, listen! All the while these men were out on strike the firm was having its castings made in Cincinnati, at a shop where a man could not work ten minutes without a union card, viz., the Eureka Foundry, at the corner of Richmond and Harriet streets. And to think that Cincinnati is only twenty-five miles from Hamilton, and what is more, is the headquarters of Mar Fox, Valentine, and the rest of the push of the International Iron Molders' Union of North America, but not of Hamilton, O.

Oh, that was a grand victory, indeed!

THE SCALDED CAT.

WOMAN UNDER SOCIALISM

By AUGUST BEBEL

Translated from the Original German of the Thirty Third Edition

By DANIEL DE LEON

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PART I.

WOMAN IN THE PAST (CONTINUED).

Rome was not merely the capital of Christendom, as the residence of the Papacy. True to its antecedents during the heathen days of the Empire, Rome had become the new Babel, the European High School of immorality; and the Papal court was its principal seat. With its downfall, the Roman Empire had bequeathed all its vices to Christian Europe. These vices were particularly nursed in Italy, whence, materially aided by the intercourse of the priesthood with Rome, they crowded into Germany. The uncommonly large number of priests, to a great extent vigorous men, whose sexual wants were intensified by a lazy and luxurious life, and who, through compulsory celibacy, were left to illegitimate or unnatural means of gratification, carried immorality into all circles of society. This priesthood became a sort of pest-like danger to the morals of the female sex in the towns and villages. Monasteries and nunneries—and their number was legion—were not infrequently distinguishable from public houses only in that the life led in them was more unbridled and lascivious, and in that numerous crimes, especially infanticide, could be more easily concealed, seeing that in the cloisters only they exercised the administration of justice who led in the wrong-doing. Often did peasants seek to safeguard wife and daughter from priestly seduction by accepting none as a spiritual shepherd who did not bind himself to keep a concubine;—a circumstance that led a Bishop of Constance to impose a "concubine tax" upon the priests of his diocese. Such a condition of things explains the historically attested fact, that during the Middle Ages—pictured to us by silly romanticists as so pious and moral—not less than 1500 strolling women turned up in 1414, at the Council of Constance.

But these conditions came in by no means with the decline of the Middle Ages. They began early, and gave continuous occasion for complaints and decrees. In 802 Charles the Great issued one of these, which ran this wise: "The cloisters of nuns shall be strictly watched; the nuns may not roam about; they shall be kept with great diligence; neither shall they live in strife and quarrel with one another; they shall in no wise be disobedient to their Superiors or Abbesses, or cross the will of these. Wherever they are placed under the rules of a cloister they are to observe them throughout. Not whoring, not drunkenness, not covetuousness shall they be the ministrants of, but in all ways lead just and sober lives. Neither shall any man enter their cloisters, except to attend mass, and he shall immediately depart." A regulation of the year 869 provided: "If priests keep several women, or shed the blood of Christians or heathens, or break the canonical law, they shall be deprived of their priesthood, because they are worse than laymen." The fact that the possession of several women was forbidden in those days only to the priests, indicates that marriage with several wives was no rare occurrence in the ninth century. In fact, there were no laws forbidding it.

Aye, and even later, at the time of the Minnesaenger, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the possession of several wives was considered in order.[21]

The position of woman was aggravated still more by the circumstance that, along with all the impediments which gradually made marriage and settlement harder, their number materially exceeded that of the men. As special reasons herefor are to be considered the numerous wars and feuds, together with the perilousness of commercial voyages of those days. Furthermore, mortality among men was higher, as the result of habitual excesses and drunkenness. The predisposition to sickness and death that flowed from such habits of life, manifested itself strongly in the numerous pest-like diseases that raged during the Middle Ages. In the interval between 1326 to 1400, there were thirty-two; from 1400 to 1500, forty-one; and from 1500 to 1600, thirty years of pestilence.[22]

Swarms of women roamed along the highways as jugglers, singers and players in the company of strolling students and clericals; they flooded the fairs and markets; they were to be found wherever large crowds gathered, or festivals were celebrated. In the regiments of foot-soldiers they constituted separate divisions, with their own sergeants. There, and quite in keeping with the guild character of the age, they were assigned to different duties, according to looks and age; and, under severe penalties, were not allowed to prostitute themselves to any man outside of their own branch. In the camps, they had to fetch hay, straw and wood; fill up trenches and ponds; and attend to the cleaning of the place along with the baggage lads. In seiges, they had to fill up the ditches with brushwood, lumber and faggots in order to help the storming of the place. They assisted in placing the field pieces in position; and when these stuck in the bottomless roads, they had to give a hand in pulling them out again.[23]

In order to counteract somewhat the misery of this crowd of helpless women, so-called "Bettinen houses" were instituted in many cities, and placed under municipal supervision. Sheltered in these establishments, the women were held to the observance of a decent life. But neither these establishments, nor the numerous nunneries, were able to receive all that applied for succor.

The difficulties in the way of marriage; the tours undertaken by Princes, and by temporal and spiritual magnates, who with their retinues of knights and bondmen, visited the cities; even the male youth of the cities themselves, the married men not excluded, who, buoyant with life and unaffected by scruples, sought change in pleasures;—all this produced as early as in the Middle Ages the demand for prostitution. As every trade was in those days organized and regulated, and could not exist without a guild, it so was with prostitution also. In all large cities there were "houses of women"—municipal, prince or Church regalities—the net profits of which flowed into the corresponding treasuries. The women in these houses had a "head-mistress," elected by themselves, who was to keep discipline and order, and whose special duty it was to diligently watch that non-guild competitors, the "interlopers," did not injure the legitimate trade. When caught, these were condignly punished. The inmates of one of these houses for women, located in Nuerenberg, complained with the Magistrate, that "other inn-keepers also kept women, who walked the streets at night, and took in married and other men, and that these plied (the trade) to such an extent, and so much more brazenly, than they did themselves in the municipal (guild) girls-house, that it was a pity and a shame to see such things happen in this worthy city."[24] These "houses for women" enjoyed special protection; disturbances of the peace in their neighborhood were fined twice as heavily. The female guild members also had the right to take their place in the processions and festivals, at which, as is known, the guilds always assisted. Not infrequently were they also drawn in as guests at the tables of Princes and Municipal Councilmen. The "houses of women" were considered serviceable for the "protection of marriage and of the honor of the maidens,"—the identical reasoning with which State brothels were justified in Athens, and even to-day prostitution is excused. All the same, there were not wanting violent persecutions of the *filles de joie*, proceeding from the identical male circles who supported them with their custom and their money. The Emperor Charlemagne decreed that prostitutes shall be dragged naked to the market place and there whipped; and yet, he himself, "the Most Christian King and Emperor," had not less than six wives at a time; and neither were his daughters, who followed their father's example, by any means paragons of virtue. They prepared for him in the course of their lives many an unpleasant hour, and brought him home several illegitimate children. Alkuin, the friend and adviser of Charlemagne, warned his pupils against "the crowned doves, who flew at night over the palatinate," and he meant thereby the daughters of the Emperor.

The identical communities, that officially organized the brothel system, that took it under their protection, and that granted all manner of privileges to the "priestesses of Venus," had the hardest and most cruel punishment in reserve for the poor and forsaken Magdalen. The female infanticide, who, driven by desperation, killed the fruit of her womb, was, as a rule, sentenced to suffer the most cruel death penalty; nobody bothered about the unconscionable seducer himself. Perchance he even sat on the Judge's bench, which decreed the sentence of death upon the poor victim. The same happens to-day.[25] Likewise was adultery by the wife punished most severely; she was certain of the pillory, at least; but over the adultery of the husband the mantle of Christian charity was thrown.

In Wuerzburg, during the Middle Ages, the keeper of women swore before the Magistrate: "To be true and good to the city, and to procure women." Similarly in Nuerenberg, Ulm, Leipsic, Cologne, Frankfurt and elsewhere. In Ulm, where the "houses of women" were abolished in 1537, the guilds moved in 1551 that they be restored "in order to avoid worse disorders." Distinguished foreigners were provided with *filles de joie* at the expense of the city. When King Ladislaus entered Vienna in 1452, the Magistrate sent to meet him a deputation of public girls, who, clad only in light gauze, revealed the handsomest shapes. At his entry into Brugges, the Emperor Charles V was likewise greeted by a deputation of naked girls. Such occurrences met not with objection in those days.

Imaginative romancers, together with calculating people, have endeavored to represent the Middle Ages as particularly "moral," and animated with a veritable worship for woman. The period of the Minnesangers—from the twelfth to the fourteenth century—contributed in giving a color to the pretence. The knightly "Minnedienst" (service of love) which the French, Italian and German knights first became acquainted with among the Moriscos of Spain, is cited as evidence concerning the high degree of respect in which woman was held at that time. But there are several things to be kept in mind. In the first place, the knights constituted but a trifling percentage of the population, and, proportionately, the knights' women of the women in general; in the second place, only a very small portion of the knights exercised the so-called "Minnedienst;" thirdly, the true nature of this service is grossly misunderstood, or has been intentionally misrepresented. The age in which the "Minnedienst" flourished was at the same time the age of the grossest right-of-the-fist in Germany,—an age when all bonds of order were dissolved; and the knights indulged themselves without restraint in waylaying of travelers, robbery and incendiarism. Such days of brutal force are not the days in which mild and poetic sentiments are likely to prevail to any perceptible extent. The contrary is true. This period contributed to destroy whatever regard possibly existed for the female sex. The knights, both of country and town, consisted mainly of rough, dissolute fellows, whose principal passion, besides feuds and guzzling, was the unbridled gratification of sexual cravings. The chronicles of the time do not tire of telling about the deeds of rapine and violence, that the nobility was guilty of, particularly in the country, but in the cities also, where, appearing in patrician *role*, the nobility held in its hands the city regiment, down to the thirteenth, and partly even in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Nor did the wronged have any means of redress; in the city, the squires (yunker) controlled the judges' bench; in the country, the landlord, invested with criminal jurisdiction, was the knight, the Abbot or the Bishop. Accordingly, it is a violent exaggeration that, amid such morals and customs, the nobility and rulers had a particular respect for their wives and daughters, and carried them on their hands as a sort of higher beings, let alone that they cultivated such respect for the wives and daughters of the townsmen and peasants, for whom both the temporal and the spiritual masters entertained and proclaimed contempt only.

A very small minority of knights consisted of sincere worshippers of female beauty, but their worship was by no means Platonic; it pursued quite material ends. And these material ends were pursued by those also with whom Christian mysticism, coupled with natural sensuousness, made a unique combination. Even that harlequin among the worshippers of "lovely women," Ulrich von Lichtenstein, of laughable memory, remained Platonic only so long as he had to. At bottom the "Minnedienst" was the apotheosis of the best beloved—at the expense of the own wife; *a sort of hetairism, carried over into Middle Age Christianity*, as it existed in Greece at the time of Pericles. In point of fact, during the Middle Ages, the mutual seduction of one another's wives was a "Minnedienst" strongly in vogue among the knights, just the same as, in certain circles of our own bourgeoise, similar performances are now repeated. That much for the romanticism of the Middle Ages and their regard for women.

There can be no doubt that, in the open recognition of the pleasures of the senses, there lay in that age the acknowledgement that the natural impulses, implanted in every healthy and ripe human being, are entitled to be satisfied. In so far there lay in the demonstration a victory of vigorous nature over the asceticism of Christianity. On the other hand, it must be noted that the recognition and satisfaction fell to the share of only one sex, while the other sex, on the contrary, was treated as if it could not and should not have the same impulses; the slightest transgression of the laws of morality prescribed by man, was severely punished. The narrow and limited horizon, within which moved the citizen of the Middle Ages, caused him to adopt narrow and limited measures also with respect to the position of woman. And, as a consequence of continued oppression and peculiar education, woman herself has so completely adapted herself to her master's habits and system of thought, that she finds her condition natural and proper.

Do we not know that there have been millions of slaves who found slavery natural, and never would have freed themselves, had their liberators not risen from the midst of the class of the slave-holders? Did not Prussian peasants, when, as a result of the Stein laws, they were to be freed from serfdom, petition to be left as they were, "because who was to take care of them when they fell sick?" And is it not similarly with the modern Labor Movement? How many workingmen do not allow themselves to be influenced and led without a will of their own?

The oppressed needs the stimulator and firer, because he lacks the independence and faculty for initiative. It was so with the modern proletarian movement; it is so also in the struggle for the emancipation of woman, which is intimately connected with that of the proletariat. Even in the instance of the comparatively favorably situated bourgeois of old, noble and clerical advocates broke the way open for him to conduct his battle for freedom.

However numerous the shortcomings of the Middle Ages, there was then a healthy sensualism, that sprang from a rugged and happy native disposition among the people, and that Christianity was unable to suppress. The hypocritical prudery and bashfulness; the secret lustfulness, prevalent to-day, that hesitates and balks at calling things by their right name, and to speak about natural things in a natural way;—all that was foreign to the Middle Ages. Neither was that age familiar with the piquant double sense, in which, out of defective naturalness and out of a prudery that has become morality, things that may not be clearly uttered, are veiled, and are thereby rendered all the more harmful; such a language incites but does not satisfy; it suggests but does not speak out. Our social conversation, our novels and our theatres are full of these piquant equivoques,—and their effect is visible. This spiritualism, which is not the spiritualism of the transcendental philosopher, but that of the *roue*, and that hides itself behind the spiritualism of religion, has great power to-day.

The healthy sensualism of the Middle Ages found in Luther its classic interpreter. We have here to do, not so much with the religious reformer, as with Luther the man. On the human side, Luther's robust primeval nature stepped forward unadulterated; it compelled him to express his appetite for love and enjoyment forcibly and without reserve. His position, as former Roman Catholic clergyman, had opened his eyes. By personal practice, so to speak, had he learned the unnaturalness of the life led by the monks and nuns. Hence the warmth with which he warred against clerical and monastic celibacy. His words hold good to this day, for all those who believe they may sin against nature, and imagine they can reconcile with their conceptions of morality and propriety, governmental and social institutions that prevent millions from fulfilling their natural mission. Luther says: "Woman, except as high and rare grace, can dispense with man as little as she can with food, sleep, water and other natural wants. Conversely, also, neither can man dispense with woman. The reason is this: It is as deeply implanted in nature to beget children as to eat and drink. Therefore did God furnish the body with members, veins, discharges and all that is needed therefor. He who will resist this, and prevent its going as Nature wills, what else does he but endeavor to resist Nature's being Nature, that fire burn, water wet, that man eat, drink or sleep?" And in his sermon on married life he says: "As little as it is in my power that I be not a man, just so little is it in your power to be without a man. For it is not a matter of free will or deliberation, but a necessary, natural matter that all that is male must have a wife, and what is female must have a husband." Luther did not speak in this energetic manner in behalf of married life and the necessity of sexual intercourse only; he also turns against the idea that marriage and Church have anything in common. In this he stood squarely on the ground of the olden days, which considered marriage an act of free will on the part of those who engaged in it, and that did not concern the Church. On this head he said: "Know, therefore, that marriage is an outside affair, as any other earthly act. The same as I am free to eat, drink, sleep, walk, ride, deal, speak and trade with a heathen, a Jew, a Turk or a heretic, *likewise am I free to enter into and remain in wedlock with one of them. Turn your back upon the fool laws that forbid such a thing.* . . . A heathen is a man and woman, created by God in perfect form, as well as St. Peter and St. Paul and St. Luke; be then silent for a loose and false Christian that you are." Luther, like other Reformers, pronounced himself against all limitation of marriage, and he was for also allowing the re-union of divorced couples, against which the Church was up in arms. He said: "As to the manner in which marriage and divorce are to be conducted among us, I claim that it should be made the business of the jurists, and placed under the jurisdiction of earthly concerns, because marriage is but an earthly and outside matter." It was in keeping with this view that, not until the close of the seventeenth century, was marriage by the Church made obligatory under Protestantism. Until then so-called "conscience marriage" held good, i. e., the simple mutual obligation to consider each other man and wife, and to mean to live in wedlock. Such a marriage was considered by German law to be legally entered into. Luther even went so far that he conceded to the unsatisfied party—even if that be the woman—the right to seek satisfaction outside of the marriage bonds "in order to satisfy nature, which cannot be crossed."[26] This conception of marriage is the same that prevailed in antiquity, and that came up later during the French Revolution. Luther here set up maxims that will arouse the strongest indignation of a large portion of our "respectable men and women," who, in their religious zeal, are so fond of appealing to him. In his treatise "On Married Life,"[27] he says: "If an impotent man falls to the lot of a hearty woman, and she still cannot openly take another, and does not wish to marry again, she shall say unto her husband: 'Lo, dear husband, thou shalt not be wronged by me. Thou hast deceived me and my young body, and hast therefore brought my honor and salvation into danger. There is no glory to God between us two. Grant me to cohabit secretly with thy brother or nearest friend, and thou shalt have the name, *so that thy property come not to strange heirs; and allow thyself to be, in turn, willingly deceived by me, as thou did deceive me without thy will.*" The husband, Luther goes on to show, is in duty bound to grant the request. "If he declines, then has she the right to run away from him to another, and to woo elsewhere. Conversely, if a woman declines to exercise the conjugal duty, her husband has the right to cohabit with another, only he should tell her so beforehand."[28] It will be seen that these are wonderfully radical, and, in the eyes of our days, so rich in hypocritical prudery, even downwright "immoral" views, that the great Reformer develops. Luther, however, expressed only that which, at the time, was the popular view.[29]

The passages quoted from the writings and addresses of Luther on marriage, are of special importance for the reason that these views are in strong contradiction with those that prevail to-day in the Church. In the struggle that it latterly has had to conduct with the clerical fraternity, the Social Democracy can appeal with full right to Luther, who takes on the question of marriage a stand free from all prejudice.

Luther and all the Reformers went even further in the marriage question, true enough, only for opportunist reasons, and out of complaisance towards the Princes whose strong support and permanent friendship they sought to secure and keep to the Reformation. The friendly Duke of Hessen, Philip I, had, besides his legitimate wife, a sweetheart, willing to yield to his wishes, but only under the condition that he marry her. It was a thorny problem. A divorce from the wife, in the absence of convincing reasons, would give great scandal; on the other hand, a marriage with two women at a time was an unheard of thing with a Christian Prince of modern days; it would give rise to no less a scandal. All this notwithstanding, Philip, in his passion, decided in favor of the latter step. The point was now to establish that the act did no violence to the Bible, and to secure the approval of the Reformers, especially of Luther and Melanchthon. The negotiations, set on foot by the Duke, began first with Butzer, who declared himself in favor of the plan, and promised to win over Luther and Melanchthon. Butzer justified his opinion with the argument: To possess several wives at once was not against the evangelium. St. Paul, who said much upon the subject of who was not to inherit the kingdom of God, made no mention of those who had two wives. St. Paul, on the contrary, said "that a Bishop was to have but one wife, the same with his servants; hence, if it had been compulsory that every man have but one wife he would have so ordered, and forbidden a plurality of wives." Luther and Melanchthon joined this reasoning, and gave their assent to double marriages, after the Duke's wife herself had consented to the marriage with the second wife under the condition "that he was to fulfil his marital duties towards her more than ever before."[30] The question of the justification of bigamy had before then—at the time when the issue was the consenting to the double marriage of Henry VIII of England—caused many a headache to Luther, as appears from a letter to the Chancellor of Saxony, Brink, dated January, 1524. Luther wrote to him that, *in point of principle, he could not reject bigamy,* because it ran not counter to Holy Writ;[31] but that he held it scandalous when the same happened among Christians, who should leave alone even things that are permissible." After the wedding of the Duke, which actually took place in March, 1540, and in answer to a letter of acknowledgement from him, Luther wrote (April 10): "That your Grace is happy on the score of our opinion, *which we fain would see kept secret; else, even the rude peasants* (in imitation of the Duke's example) might finally produce as strong, if not stronger, reasons, whereby we might then have much trouble on our hands."

Upon Melanchthon, the consent to the double marriage of the Duke must have been less hard. Before that, he had written to Henry VIII "every Prince has the right to introduce polygamy in his domains." But the double marriage of the Duke made such a great and unpleasant sensation, that, in 1541, he circulated a treatise in which polygamy is defended as no transgression against Holy Writ.[32] People were not then living in the ninth or twelfth century, when polygamy was tolerated without shocking society. Social conditions had very materially changed in the meantime; in a great measure the mark had had to yield to the power of the nobility and the clergy; it had even extensively disappeared, and was further uprooted after the unhappy issue of the Peasant Wars. Private property had become the general foundation of society. Beside the rural population, that cultivated the soil, a strong, self-conscious handicraft element had arisen, and was dominated by the interests of its own station. Commerce had assumed large dimensions, and had produced a merchant class, which, what with the splendor of its outward position and its wealth, awoke the envy and hostility of a nobility that was sinking ever deeper into poverty and licentiousness. The burghers' system of private property had triumphed everywhere, as was evidenced by the then universal introduction of the Roman law; the contrasts between the classes were palpable, and everywhere did they bump against one another. Monogamy became, under such conditions, the natural basis for the sexual relations; a step such as taken by the Duke of Hessen now did violence to the ruling morals and customs, which, after all, are but the form of expression of the economic conditions that happen at the time to prevail. On the other hand, society came to terms with prostitution, as a necessary accompaniment of monogamy, and an institution supplemental thereto;—and tolerated it.

In recognizing the gratification of the sexual impulses as a law of Nature, Luther but uttered what the whole male population thought, and openly claimed for itself. He, however, also contributed—through the Reformation, which carried through the abolition of celibacy among the clergy, and the removal of the cloisters from Protestant territories—that to hundreds of thousands the opportunity was offered to do justice to nature's impulses under legitimate forms. True again,—due to the existing order of property, and to the legislation that flowed therefrom,—hundreds of thousands of others continued to remain excluded. The Reformation was the first protest of the large-propertied bourgeoise or capitalist class, then rising into being, against the restrictions imposed by feudalism in Church, State and society. It strove after freedom from the narrow bonds of the guild, the court and the judiciary; it strove after the centralization of the State, after the abolition of the numerous seats of idlers, the monasteries; and it demanded their use for practical production. The movement aimed at the abolition of the feudal form of property and production; it aimed at placing in its stead the free property of the capitalist, i. e., in the stead of the existing system of mutual protection in small and disconnected circles, there was to be unchained the free individual struggle of individual efforts in the competition for property.

On the religious field, Luther was the representative of these bourgeois aspirations. When he took a stand for the freedom of marriage, the question could not be simply about civic marriage, which was realized in Germany only in our own age through the civil laws and the legislation therewith connected,—freedom to move, freedom of pursuit, and freedom of domicile. In how far the position of woman was thereby improved will be shown later. Meanwhile things had not matured so far at the time of the Reformation. If, through the regulations of the Reformation many were afforded the possibility to marry, the severe persecutions that followed later hampered the freedom of sexual intercourse. The Roman Catholic clergy having in its time displayed a certain degree of tolerance, and even laxity, towards sexual excesses, now the Protestant clergy, once itself was provided for, raged all the more violently against the practice. War was declared upon the public "houses of women;" they were closed as "Holes of Satan;" the prostitutes were persecuted as "daughters of the devil;" and every woman who slipped was placed on the pillory as a specimen of all sinfulness.

Out of the once hearty small property-holding bourgeois of the Middle Ages, who lived and let live, now became a bigoted, straight-laced, dark-browed maw-worm, who "saved-up," to the end that his large property-holding bourgeois successor might live all the more lustily in the nineteenth century, and might be able to dissipate all the more. The respectable citizen, with his stiff necktie, his narrow horizon and his severe code of morals, was the prototype of society. The legitimate wife, who had not been particularly edified by the sensuality of the Middle Ages, tolerated in Roman Catholic days, was quite at one with the Puritanical spirit of Protestantism. But other circumstances supervened, that, affecting, as they did, unfavorably the general condition of things in Germany, joined in exercising in general an unfavorable influence upon the position of woman.

The revolution—effected in production, money and trade, particularly as regarded Germany,—due to the discovery of America and the sea-route to the East Indies, produced, first of all, a great reaction on the social domain. Germany ceased to be the center of European traffic and commerce. Spain, Portugal, Holland, England, took successively the leadership, the latter keeping it until our own days. German industry and German commerce began to decline. At the same time, the religious Reformation had destroyed the political unity of the nation. The Reformation became the cloak under which the German principalities sought to emancipate themselves from the Imperial power. In their turn, the Princes brought the power of the nobility under their own control, and, in order to reach this end all the more easily, favored the cities, not a few of which, in sight of the ever more troubled times, placed themselves, of their own free will, under the rule of the Princes. The final effect was that the bourgeois or capitalist class, alarmed at the financial decline of its trade, raised ever higher barriers to protect itself against unpleasant competition. The ossification of conditions gained ground; and with it the impoverishment of the masses.

Later, the Reformation had for a consequence the calling forth of the religious wars and persecutions—always, of course, as cloaks for the political and economic purposes of the Princes—that, with short interruptions, raged throughout Germany for over a century, and ended with the country's complete exhaustion, at the close of the Thirty Years' War in 1648. Germany had become an immense field of corpses and ruins; whole territories and provinces lay waste; hundreds of cities, thousands of villages had been partially or wholly burnt down; many of them have since disappeared forever from the face of the earth. In other places the population had sunk to a third, a fourth, a fifth, even to an eighth and tenth part. Such was the case, for instance, with cities like Neurenberg, and with the whole of Franconia. And now, at the hour of extreme need, and with the end in view of providing the depopulated cities and villages as quickly as possible with an increased number of people, the drastic measure was resorted to of "raising the law," and *allowing a man two wives*. The wars had carried off the men; of women there was an excess. On February 14, 1650, the Congress of Franconia, held in Nuerenberg, adopted the resolution that "men under sixty years of age shall not be admitted to the monasteries;" furthermore, it ordered "the priests and curates, if not ordained, and the canons of religious establishments, shall marry;" "moreover every male shall be allowed to marry two wives; and all and each males are earnestly reminded, and shall be often warned, *from the pulpit* also, to so comport themselves in this matter; and care shall be taken that he shall fully and with becoming discretion diligently endeavor, so that, as a married man, to whom is granted that he take two wives, he not only take proper care of both wives, but avoid all misunderstanding among them." At that time, we see, matters that are to-day kept under strictest secrecy, were often discussed as of course from the pulpit itself.

(To be continued.)

The publication of "Woman Under Socialism" began on Sunday, May 24, in The Sunday People, and in The Weekly People of May 30. It will appear in serial form in The Sunday and Weekly until completed, when it will be published in book form.

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[21] A poem of Albrecht von Johansdorf, in the collection of "Minnesang-Fruehling" (Collection of Lachman and Moritz Haupt; Leipsic, 1857; S. Hirtel), has this passage:

"waere ez niht unstaete
"der Zwein wiben wolte sin fur eigen jehen,
"bei diu tougenliche? sprechet, herre, wurre ez iht?
"(man sol ez den man erlouben und den vrouwen nicht.)"

The openness, with which two distinct rights, according to sex, are here considered a matter of course, corresponds with views that are found in force even to this day.

[22] Dr. Karl Buecher, "Die Frauenfrage im Mittelalter," Tuebing

[23] Dr. Karl Buecher

[24] Joh. Scherr, "Geschichte der Deutschen Frauenwelt." Leipsic, 1879.

[25] Leon Richter reports in "La Femme Libre" the case of a servant girl in Paris who was convicted of infanticide *by the father of the child himself*, a respected and religious lawyer, who sat on the jury. Aye, worse: *the lawyer in question was himself the murderer, and the mother was entirely guiltless, as, after her conviction, she herself declared in court.*

[26] Dr. Karl Hagen, "Deutschlands Literarische und Religioese Verhaeltnisse im Reformationszeitalter." Frankfurt-on-the-Main, 1868.

[27] II., 146, Jena. 1522.

[28] Dr. Karl Hagen.

[29] Jacob Grimm informs us ("Deutsche Rechtsalterthuemer. Weisthum aus dem Amte Blankenburg"):

"Daer ein Man were, der sinen echten wive ver frowelik recht niet gedoin konde, der sall si sachtelik op sinen ruggen setten und draegen sie over negen erstnine und setten sie sachtelik neder sonder stoeten, slaen und werpen und sonder enig quaed woerd of oevel sehen, und roipen dae sine naebur aen, dat sie inne sines wives lives noet helpen weren, und of sine naebur dat niet doen wolden of kunden, so sall he si senden up die neiste kermisse daerbi gelegen und dat sie sik süverlik toe make und verzere und hangen ör einen buidel wall mit golde bestikt up die side, dat sie selft wat gewerven kunde; kumpt sie dannoch wider ungeholpen, so help ör dar der duifel."

As appears from Grimm, the German peasant of the Middle Ages looked in marriage, first of all, for *heirs*. If he was unable himself to beget these, he then, as a practical man, left the pleasure, without special scruples, to some one else. The main thing was to gain his object. We repeat it: Man does not rule property, property rules him.

[30] Johann Jansen, "Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes," 1525-1555, Freiburg.

[31] Which is perfectly correct, and also explainable, seeing that the Bible appeared at a time when polygamy extended far and wide among the peoples of the Orient and the Occident. In the sixteenth century, however, it was in strong contradiction with the standard of morality.

[32] Johann Janssen.

WEEKLY PEOPLE

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888	2,060
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	36,564
In 1900	34,191
IN 1902	**53,617**

A NEW INDUSTRY.

A newspaper in this city is publishing the below standing notice:

DEMAND YOUR RIGHTS.
Sue Interurban Company if It Will Not Give You a Transfer.

Get on 42d street car and ask for transfer to Madison avenue.

The conductor will refuse to give it to you. Make a note of his number and the number of his car.

Board a Madison avenue car.

Tell the conductor you asked for a transfer on the 116th street car and did not get it.

He will refuse to carry you unless you pay another fare.

Pay it, and make a note of his number and the number of his car.

Also note the time of day and the day of the month, and state where you were going.

Send this information, with your name and address, to The ——, and your claim for $50 will be put in the hands of a competent lawyer.

If you win your suit, as you doubtless will, you will pay the lawyer a small fee.

No charge will be made for presenting your claim.

Is this a rootlet of the tree on which the present Wall street flowers are flowering? or is it a floweret of the Wall street root? Connected the two are; and this evidence of "genius and individualism" in "starting new industries" serves as well as any to expose the true inwardness, the in-breeding nature of capitalist money-making. Incidentally it also tells its tale on the existing "prosperity."

It goes without saying that the posture of "demanding rights," assumed in this instance, is mere stage play. He whose manliness is sufficiently awakened to be conscious of "rights," and to dare "demand" them, is not going to fritter his energies away, or cool his ardor on such petty matters as "transfers;" least of all will he be in the frame of mind to strike a course in which his blow for his rights must be struck by proxy—a lawyer. Simple reasons surround him on all sides to feel his rights assailed: he is plucked in the shop, he is plucked at every turn, and on his back the imprint is marked of the heel of the capitalist class that he sustains. Will he bother about "transfers"? Will he hire a lawyer? Indeed, not! He will seek to shake that capitalist off his back; he will himself act for himself by joining those who cast—not by proxy, but themselves—their ballots for Socialism, and who stand ready themselves—not by proxy—to back up their ballot, should the capitalist dare infringe it.

It goes without saying that this "money-making" scheme partakes of the Wall street curb. While millions are gambled inside the Exchange, only thousands are at stake outside, on the curb. But whether within or without, the process is not one of "producing," it is one of "transferring" wealth in existence—one cheat cheats another.

Finally, it goes without saying that such Chinese style of pickings never grow amidst popular prosperity. They are always symptoms of popular poverty. The human mind does not naturally run in such grooves. When it does it is forced to, and when forced the act tells the tale of long "grubbing under ground."

The paper in question is experiencing all these truths. Its "call for rights" is remaining unanswered; while the "underground grubbing" mental poise of the legal luminary who conceived the scheme is enjoying leisure to contemplate the beauties of the asylum, offered by the "higher professions," for the "degradation of having to work with your muscle."

SIR THOMAS LIPTON, LMT'D.

For the third time Sir Thomas Lipton has reached our shores for a "conflict of peace," having been given each time "a right hearty 'God speed you!' by the people of England" on his departure, and received "the enthusiastic and warm welcome of the people of America" on his arrival. Truly, the man whose movements, not once, but three times in succession, are accompanied by and evoke the "hearty" and "warm" good wishes of two nations must in himself be a link and not merely a link but a part of the two things connected. And so is Sir Thomas. Then he does connect the two peoples? No; and not necessary.

The suffix "Lmt'd" is more important to the understanding of the event than the prefix "Sir."

Dropping both prefix and suffix, Thomas Lipton is a capitalist, the head of a large capitalist concern. Conscious of the squalls that the crafts of capitalism are sometimes exposed to, the concern has adopted the precaution of crafts generally. They all carry "long boats" for emergencies. The "long boat" of a capitalist craft is the "Lmt'd"; that is, "Limited"; that is, freedom to run up any amount of debts on liabilities, and when the squall comes limit the creditors to a certain amount of indemnity. What becomes of the vast difference in such cases, between the actual liabilities and the amount of responsibility to which the concern is limited, is no one's business.

Thus provided against "weather" by the "Lmt'd," the Thomas Lipton capitalist craft out-capitals capitalism in the manner that it exploits its crew—mainly girls. On this subject, labor papers from England have told gruesome stories. Nevertheless—and such is the spirit of pure and simple unionism in England and America, which exchanges kisses in the shape of "fraternal delegates," gold-headed canes, watches and mutual admiration resolutions—when Thomas Lipton leaves England pure and simpledom wishes him a "hearty" farewell and when he reaches America he receives from a pure and simple-tutored proletarian a "warm welcome."

Does not Sir Thomas Lipton, Lmt'd, represent the two peoples? Certainly—that is, that portion of the two people that exploit the workers, together with that other that considers itself there to be exploited, and that would die of grief if THEIR Shamrock III. and THEIR Reliance did not make a good show.

There is still another portion of the people on both sides of the water; that portion neither cheer nor welcome, but have only an implacable class-aversion for the Sir Thomas Lipton, Limited, class and are drilling the mass to the point when that class may indeed be limited—abolished.

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN?

In the correspondence column of this issue will be found a letter stating that President Shaffer's brother has been appointed to a job by the Governor of Pennsylvania; and our correspondent asks, What does this mean?

The fact is correctly stated. The June 4 issue of the Amalgamated Journal, organ of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, itself coolly makes the announcement in these words:

"President Shaffer's brother, Addison, has been appointed by Governor Pennypacker as one of the deputy factory inspectors for Western Pennsylvania."

What does this mean? It means volumes.

Cardinals and Popes must not marry; hence they are not supposed to have children. The supposition notwithstanding, they do sometimes have them, occasionally in large numbers—as the sequel will show. When these children grow up they must be provided for. What is the use of having a papa high up in authority if he does not furnish his brood with comfortable berths? So thought the papas in question; and they appointed their children to places of honor and emolument around them; but seeing they could not acknowledge these appointees as their sons—at least not in public—, they called them their nephews, whence the term "nepotism"—the favoring of nephews ("nepos" latinice). Thus in the clerical hierarchy of celibatic brand.

There is another hierarchy, the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class" hierarchy. These gentlemen render valuable services to individual capitalists, and to capitalism in general. If there is a capitalist crime against labor to be concealed or white-washed, such as crimes against factory laws; if there is a capitalist scheme against labor to be fathered and smuggled in; if there is a resentment on the part of labor against capitalists to be run into the ground; if there is a bogus party of labor to be boomed in the endeavor to blanket a bona fide party of labor; in short, if there is any dirty work to be performed—there is the "labor lieutenant of the capitalist class," ever ready and ever willing. But these are not yet the days of altruism. The "labor lieutenant" wants to know "the reason why." Few if any are those of them who are not on the regular pension list of some employer or other. But that is not enough. Notoriously the capitalist is a miser. So our "labor lieutenants" demand more recognition. And the recognition comes. Seeing it would frequently be disastrous all around if the "labor lieutenant" himself took a political job, the same is given—to his brother, or his son, or his nephew, or his brother-in-law, according as the degree of relation may be that the dependent stand in to the "labor lieutenant."

"What does this mean?" It means a novel, up-to-date style of nepotism, one that, like charity, blesses him that takes and him that gives.

THE REV. R. A. ELWOODS.

Rape is beastly. The murder that, as a rule, accompanies the deed, only emphasizes its beastiality. It is so unqualifiedly a manifestation of the masterhood of the beast that the question has been even put, whether the being that indulges in it is at all rational, not merely during, but at any time before the commission of the deed. Criminology may be left to investigate the subject, answer the query, and suggest the method of treatment. But, whatever the answer of criminology may be on that particular head, there can be no doubt as to its opinion of the being who, with the marks of culture and refinement about him, and in sentences grammatically and euphoniously turned, will deliberately evoke the latent beast in man and incite such a spectacle as the three to four thousand Delawarians witnessed and cheered on the morning of the 23d instant—the Rev. R. A. Elwood.

Let criminology pronounce the worst sentence on the humanity of the man guilty of rape. The more completely he is placed out of the pale of the human, all the less becomes the real danger to the human race from such a crime; such beings must be rare, few, indeed; and their misdeeds are isolated acts, that in and of themselves they end there. But what about the Rev. R. A. Elwoods? It is to be hoped that there are not many of them. But even if there be but one, his influence blights whole areas of the population. If, as is undoubtedly the case, the beast is the foundation of rape, then the Rev. R. A. Elwood has at least laid the foundation for the foundation of rape in many hundreds of human beings. In all, the best of us, the beast lies crouching. The Rev. R. A. Elwood woke it up; goaded it; set it on its feet in the breasts of three or four thousand Delawarians; made murder palatable to them—aye, did more, gave the awakened beast, whose cunning is Satanic, the wished-for pretence of promoting justice and morality, and of being sanctified by religion. Those thousands of men AND BOYS will never again be the same they once were. Between the beings that woke up the previous morning and those that retired to bed the following morning, after witnessing and helping at the lynching, the stake at which they helped to burn a human being in calmness and mid jeers, marks a deep cleft.

The Rev. R. A. Elwoods are social pests.

THE RE-ELECTION OF PARKS.

The re-election of Samuel J. Parks, the walking delegate of the Housesmiths' and Bridgemen's Union, who is under indictment for extortion, is a phenomenon not half so interesting as another, noticeable on the occasion of the election held by the union. All the reports of the proceedings contain this passage:

"The ballot box was placed on a round table in an enclosure by three long tables placed above the round one, the watchers being required to sit at tables on the outside of the enclosure."

That is, substantially, the style in pure and simple labor organizations generally, and thereby an illustration is furnished of how completely their minds are dominated by bourgeois, or capitalist governmental theory.

If the capitalist theory of government is carefully contemplated, if its practice is stripped of its phrases, it will be perceived to be founded on the identical principle that animated its feudal and theocratic predecessors—the principle of the inviolability and infallibility of the ruler, and the untrustworthiness of the ruled. In capitalist society, police, constables, militias, armies, watchers, inspectors, and so forth and so on, are there to "police," to "constable," to "army," to "militia," to watch, to inspect—whom? the officers? the Government? Not at all! They are there to "police," to "constable," to "army," to "militia," to watch, to inspect the ruled, the governed, the rank and file. The governORS are given a free hand, the governED are looked sharp upon the fingers. The precautions, taken at the above mentioned election of union officers demonstrate the identity of principles enforced in these labor organizations. The circumstances that surrounded this election, the pickle Parks is in, only help to emphasize and bring it into relief.

Had the Housesmiths' and Bridgemen's Union been constructed on the principle that the Labor Movement carries in its folds—the principle of popular sovereignty and magisterial responsibility—neither would Parks be in the hole he now is, nor would the rank and file of the organization be now suffering under the double disgrace of being driven to "vindicate" and yet not being able to do better than furnish a by-the-skin-of-the-teeth vindication. But no. The officers of that and of all pure and simple unions are given a free hand; they do as they please, the precaution of "enclosures" from which to watch is adopted, not towards them and their acts, but towards the rank and file and its acts; and, thus, if due to the frailty of the flesh or whatever cause, the officer goes to the dogs, instead of the rank and file being trained in the democratic virility for grabbing the wrong-doer by the neck and hurling him out, it feels instinctively responsible, seeks to screen and "vindicate" him, and wheels in line with him to place "enclosures" lest evil befall the government.

Nor is anything else possible from Labor Organizations constructed on and conducted by the principle of the "Brotherhood of Capital and Labor."

* * *

The new invention to trim coal cargoes, the first on the Great Lakes, put in operation and displacing thousands of men at Ashtabula, O., has raised a problem which vividly typifies the impotency of pure and simple unionism to solve the questions of machinery and the unemployed. As a result of this invention, it is proposed to pay the few trimmers who will yet be needed in connection with the new machine $75 per month, instead of so much per ton. The coal shovelers protest that this a violation of their contract, made between the International Longshoremen's Union and the dock managers. The question that arises right here is how can this protest be effectual? With thousands of displaced, unemployed coal trimmers at hand, it is idle to presume that a strike on the part of the remaining men will give that protest weight. It is rather safer to assume that the dock managers, perfectly aware of the supply of labor rendered available by the machine, will pay no attention to the protest, and will, accordingly, pay what wages appears to them to be most profitable under the circumstances. Pure and simple trades unionism is thus face to face with a condition of affairs that it cannot remedy. Socialism, which demands the social ownership of the machine, alone can do that.

* * *

The lockout of the textile workers in Lowell, Mass., enacted by the employers to forestall a strike for an increase of 10 per cent. in wages, is ended, the Textile Council having declared further resistance off. The capitalist press, exulting in the defeat of the operatives, points out that the lockout lasted twelve weeks, during which time it cost the mills nothing, as they would have had to close down anyway on account of the high price of cotton, while the 17,800 operatives engaged lost approximately $1,300,000. Here, unwittingly, the capitalist press shows the miserable condition of the textile operatives—the "prosperity" enjoyed by them under capitalism. If, in twelve weeks, 17,800 operatives lost $1,300,000 in wages, the loss of each was $73, or a trifle more than $6 a week. Who will now deny that "prosperity" is a blessing to the working class, enabling them to deposit millions in the savings banks? Who will deny that the workers in the leading industries of the country are not rolling in wealth, owing to the "good times" now raging?

* * *

The "Socialist," alias Social Democratic party, press of this country is booming the radical bourgeois victories of the Social Democrats of Germany as victories for Socialism. "Socialism Sweeps Germany," declares one of their misleading sheets in big headlines, and the others pitch their fraudulent peans in the same key. Such radical bourgeois victories are Godsends to the "Socialist," alias Social Democratic, press, as they appear to endorse the policy of fusion and corruption followed by the "Socialist," alias Social Democratic, party of this country, where the conditions are not the same as those of Germany, and where, consequently, German tactics are wrong in every respect. Were those radical bourgeois victories of the German Social Democrats really victories of uncompromising, class-conscious workingmen, the "Socialist," alias Social Democratic, press would shun them as the devil is said to shun holy water.

* * *

Edward F. McSweeney, labor leader and ex-Assistant Commissioner of Immigration at the Port of New York, is going to be prosecuted by the Federal Government for abstracting Ellis Island official papers. It is stated that McSweeney took about 4000 letters and other documents to conceal wrong-doing. Thus another pet of pure and simpledom, exposed by the Socialist Labor Party, fittingly winds up his nefarious career.

A QUESTION FROM THE PACIFIC SLOPE

The below letter—a burning coal from the furnace—throws too brilliant a light upon the field, and upon many a nook and corner thereof, to allow it to transpire only to the limited extent that letters transpire through the Letter Box answer that they call for. Here it is—only suppressing its writer's name, not having his consent to publish the same:

Sacramento, Cal., June 5, 1903.
Editor Daily People, New York:—

Dear Sir: I am a Trades Unionist and, of course, a workingman, and as a workingman I am very much interested in the movement which claims to be doing battle for workingmen. Now, since you are the Editor of a Socialist paper in which you carry a Letter-Box, which I have seen in the issue of May 17, '03, this being the only issue which has ever came to my notice, I take the liberty to ask you some questions.

In an answer to J. H., New York, you use the term "bore from within," and your advice seems to be, not only bore from within, but bore in every possible manner. Now, the term "from within" or "without" is Greek to me.

Now, what I want to know is this: Does it mean that the Socialists shall do as they do in Sacramento, that is, get into the union; use every honest or corrupt means to become officers; and, having gotten the office which they are after, BORE US TO DEATH BY INSISTING THAT WE ALL READ AND STUDY THE "APPEAL TO REASON" IN OUR MEETINGS? Or does it mean that they should try and disrupt the union, if they fail to become officers? Or does it mean that the Socialists shall bore themselves into the union, as they have done, and then proceed to bore us to death by telling us that we are not getting enough wages, and calling us cowards for not going out on strike?

Now, kind sir, do not run away with the idea that we are getting more wages that we need. No; on the contrary, our wages are far too small. Besides, myself and my fellow workmen would gladly go on strike to-morrow morning if we could see our way clear to WIN. But there is where the shoe is tight. The question is not, Shall we strike? but, Can we win? That is the point which is overlooked by our good friends the Socialists. They never ask themselves the question, Will the strike be a success or will it be a failure?

Again, those who are compelled to work all the year at small wages, barely making a living, the word successful means only a slight increase, say 10 cents per day or $30 per year, which is really lost before it is won, say the strike lasts a month. While an unsuccessful strike means simply starvation.

No, kind sir, I am not a scab. Neither will I follow the blind leader who is shouting: "Strike! Strike!" and who would eventually lead me into the wild desert, where both of us would become prey for the coyotes of the Employers' Union, who happen to have the best appetite for my labor at the smallest possible price.

Now, I have probably bored you to death with this letter. But I am so interested in the uplifting of myself and my fellow workers that I hardly know when I have said enough. I wish to say that I am not a Socialist, although I am a steady reader of the "Appeal to Reason" for over a year. And, while I will admit that there are some witty little articles in it, so far I have not seen any logical solution of the Labor Problem. There is something for which I cannot find a name for which I am looking.

I read with interest the copy of The Daily People of the 17th ult., which lies nearest to my heart of any reform paper I have seen so far. Please send me a sample copy, and when pay day comes around it is my intention to subscribe for it.

Hoping that I have not intruded too much on your time, I am yours for the betterment of the workers.

———

Is not this, indeed, a burning coal from the furnace of the camp of the working class, groping instinctively for light, and yet beset, like a traveler through a swamp, by vermin and false swamp-lights?

The term "boring from within" had its origin with a German paper called the "New Yorker Volkszeitung," which is owned by a private corporation. The paper claimed to be Socialist and in the interest of Labor. It was neither. Whipped in line by the Socialist Labor Party, it could be kept in line only for a while. The S. L. P.'s incorruptibility interferred with the paper's business. This business consisted partly in hush-money that it received from the Labor Fakir, who manufactured strikes to suit one employer at the expense of another, or lived on bogus label agitations, etc. The S. L. P. attitude disturbed the Fakir. The S. L. P. had tried to educate the rank and file in the unions. That did not suit the Fakir. Such education threatened his crooked existence; it was something new to him. He had been accustomed to the "Volkszeitung Socialists" style of educating the rank and file—lying low, whooping it up for the Fakir, and talking Socialism through their hats. The S. L. P. style would never do, and the Fakir then "shut down" upon the S. L. P. The result was that the S. L. P. started a Socialist Trades Union—the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance—and with its press and its spoken propaganda the Party stood by the workingman in all his workingman's demands, whether he was in an old style pure and simple union, or in the S. T. & L. A., or in no union whatever—but waged war to the knife upon the Labor Fakir. This gentry, seeing the Volkszeitung corporation held in the leash of the S. L. P., then began to withdraw their support from the paper; its business began to decline; and, rather than live in poverty for a decent cause, for a clean workingman's movement, it preferred to share the Judas pence of the Labor Fakir. Its choice being taken, it opened fire in 1898 upon the S. L. P. with an article pronouncing in favor of "boring from within." A year later the S. L. P. and the Volkszeitung parted company.

What "boring from within" means our correspondent has learned from personal contact with the thing. If, instead of his experience being that the "borers from within," who are justly nauseating him, try to force upon him the "Appeal to Reason," his experience were that they try to force upon him the "Volkszeitung" or the "Worker," both the private property of the same corporation, that is, just as the "Appeal to Reason," private property, he then would have the situation in the East pat. Aided by the above account of the origin of the term "bore from within" our correspondent, together with the thousands who are making his experience, will understand exactly what the term means—and what class of people have the term as their motto.

"Boring from within" means to act as agents to secure subscribers for privately owned papers, that sail under the flag of Socialism with as much right and for similar purposes as pirates sail under false colors,—how false the Socialist colors are, our correspondent gives unsolicited testimony to: He is "a steady reader of the 'Appeal to Reason' for over a year," but is not a Socialist, and has "not seen any logical solution of the Labor Problem" in the paper, which is just the language of those who read any other "boring from within" Socialist paper.

"Boring from within" means to hold irrational language generally, and traitorous language on the matter of strikes in particular—as our correspondent has ascertained, and was ascertained by the unhappy coal miners.

"Boring from within" finally means to convey the idea that Socialism is either insanity, or tomfoolery, or crookedness,—as may be judged from our correspondent's actually believing that the crew of "Appeal to Reason" agents and "Strike!" ranters, whom he has to do with, are Socialists.

"Boring from without, and from within, and from any side possible," means to hold up unflinching the logical standard of the Working Class; never to treat with that class' foes except to expose them; never to be seen in the company of those foes except to smite them, and thus, by the steadfast holding up of the clear beacon of Socialism, aid those thousands of workingmen, who are groping in the dark for emancipation, to "find that something for which they cannot yet find a name"—and recognize it and grapple it to their hearts when they find it.

* * *

"Some of the alleged labor papers that are always on the lookout for political graft from boodle politicians have been exultingly shooting off their bazoos because the Iowa State Federation of Labor turned down a resolution to endorse the principle of socialism. Now a Des Moines Socialist and an officer of the Federation writes to the Appeal to Reason, and says that of the 175 delegates present at the convention 150 were Socialists, and that the resolution was defeated merely because they did not deem it wise to enter politics. If the graft sheets can gain any comfort from this statement they are welcome to it."—Cleveland Citizen, June 20.

The Cleveland Citizen is not a reliable source to draw from. It is notorious for its misrepresentation and disregard for truth. The above, consequently, is not likely to be true. If it is true, the facts mentioned therein, show that boring from within instead of being a means of promoting is simply a means of running working class politics in the union into the ground.

* * *

A writer in the Sun points to the corruption in the postoffice as an awful warning of what would happen under Socialism, with the Government in control of all industries. The trouble with this writer is his inability to see two things, viz.: First, that the corruption in the postoffice is the same as the corruption in the ship-building combine, i. e., it is capitalist corruption, such as exists in all phases of capitalist life, and that, consequently, he is condemning capitalism, and not Socialism. Second, with all the industries under the ownership and control of society, contracts and contractors would be abolished as a consequence. How then could the bribery arising out of the letting of contracts occur?

* * *

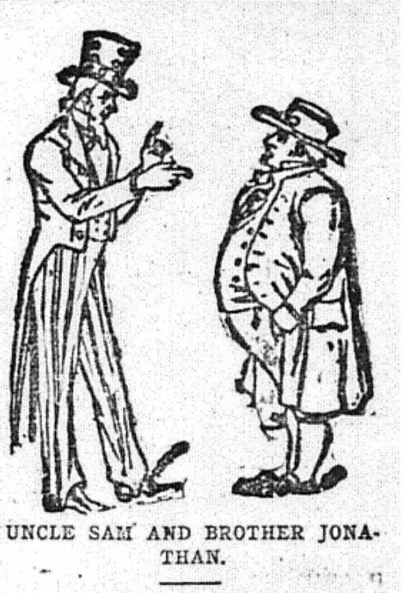
The anthracite conciliation board has got down to work. It has decided on two things, viz.: first, it is a court of last resort—all persons having grievances will first have to submit them to three other processes before the board will take them up. Second, no grievances of mine workers who are on strike will be considered. In plainer English—the board is not organized to consider grievances, but to suppress them.

* * *

The Kaiser has established a Ministry of Language, one of whose objects it will be to preserve the German tongue from decay among Germans settling in foreign countries. Of course, his purpose is a commercial one. The Kaiser ought to appeal to the New Yorker Volkszeitung for assistance: it is in the same boat, as it finds the preservation of German feelings, prejudices and language necessary in its "peesness" of deceiving the workers in this city.

* * *

Again does history repeat itself. In the '60s of the last century troops marched up and down the streets of Richmond, Va., the historic seat of the Confederacy, in defense of the cause of chattel slavery. To-day troops patrol those same streets in the trolley men's strike, in defense of wage-slavery. But history will not stop here; it will repeat itself again, for as history records the overthrow of human slavery, so, we may rest assured, will it some day record the overthrow of wage-slavery; which, not unlike the old, must needs appeal to the force of arms to sustain it



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BOTHER JONATHAM—Don't you think the working class ought to become revolutionary?

UNCLE SAM—In what respect?

B. J.—That they should lay in a supply of Winchester repeating rifles.

U. S. (loooking disappointed)—Is that what you consider "revolutionary?"

B. J.—Yes. Isn't that the proper and only thing to do?

U. S.—No.

B. J.—Do you believe in revolution?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—Are people not revolutionary when they get ready to shoot?

U. S.—See you here. Do you remember when the traitor Tories in this country "laid in supplies" of guns?

B. J.—I do; the scalawags.

U. S.—Do you remember when the copperhead slaveholders "laid in supplies" of guns at the election of Lincoln?

B. J.—I do; I remember how ever in the North such Bourbon sympathizers with the Copperheads as August Belmont and the New York Herald did likewise, and got ready rebel flags to welcome rebels in New York.

U. S.—These people were all "ready to shoot," were they not?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Would you say, therefore, they were "revolutionary?"

B. J.—Hem—er—

U. S.—Let me give you a pointer. The revolutionary spirit is manifested not by METHODS, but by AIMS; not by the HOW, but by the WHAT. Methods are like alphabets. You can spell bad as well as good words with the alphabet. Men, the most reactionary in the world, may take to their guns and be "ready to shoot." To determine whether a man is revolutionary or not, inquire WHAT he wants, not HOW he wants it.

B. J.—I see.

U. S.—Now, then, what do these working people want whom you think should be "laying in supplies of guns?"

B. J.—They want to overthrow monopoly.

U. S.—By nationalizing the monolopy?

B. J.—Hem—er—

U. S.—As far as they have uttered themselves they want to overthrow the large concentrations of the means of production, and restore the old-time system of small production.

B. J.—Exactly.

U. S.—And that is not REVOLUTION, that is REACTION. The system of small production is antiquated and unfit for civilization. Civilized man needs plenty of wealth; plenty of wealth is not possible under the system of small production; plenty of wealth is possible only under a system of largely concentrated means of production.

B. J.—But we have such a system now, yet see how poor the people are.

U. S.—They are poor, not because of the large concentrations of the tools of production, but because those tools are private property.

B. J.—And you would call "revolutionary" what?

U. S.—The modern revolutionist, the revolutionist now needed, is he who moves to overthrow, not the large aggregations of means of production, but their private ownership, and transform that into public, collective ownership. He who would overthrow the large aggregations of the means of production and restore the system of small individual production is not revolutionary, he is, on the contrary, an arch reactionist; he would throw civilization back at least 100 years.

B. J.—Then you don't take any stock in this "laying in of guns" and "shooting" business?

U. S.—None at all. Men may shoot right and they may shoot wrong. Let me know what a man wants, and I'll tell you whether or not he will shoot right.

B. J.—But he may want the right thing and want to shoot for the right thing.

U. S.—In that case he will vote for the right thing first. Let me give you another pointer, Brother Jonathan: If in this country all those, or even one-half of those who are interested in bringing about the right thing, i.e., the Socialist or Co-operative Commonwealth, vote for it, there will be no need of shooting. The capitalist class is a coward class. Soon as it sees a vigorous demonstration at the ballot box for Socialism, it will pull up stakes and like a detected thief slink away.

B. J.—Then let us all cast our votes solidly for the Socialist Labor Party everytime.

U. S.—Yes, one and all. That is the most revolutionary act possible, and the most sensible withal, just now.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, beside their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

The Hope of the Future Lies in S. L. P. Education.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The writer was to-day called upon by a customer and asked the lowest figure on a certain standard-grade of carriage trimming work. I told him $3. He gave me the 'phone to a large capitalist firm in our city, who offered to do them at $2 apiece. The raw material costs $1.25 and the labor (hand) is four hours. The large capitalist firm recently got a dash-stitcher, which does the work in fifteen minutes and neater and cheaper. I cannot get a machine. All my other customers are catching on; so am I.

Although a hard-worker, industrious (too much so for my health), if I stick to my craft I must fall into line as a wage-worker, when I can get work.

In talking to a wage-worker who works for the above large firm, he says the machine does not shorten his ten hours daily, does not lighten his toil or raise his wages; in fact, the simplicity of this machine enables him to hold down for less money what is a regular $3 a day job. The machine does perfect work; so does he now, though formerly an indifferent hand worker

Aye, but the going under the middle class is another matter. Do you know, if I were not a Socialist, there are one or two courses I would now pursue: I would join the ranks of the trust-busters and howl "Down with Monopoly!" and for government ownership of railroads, Baer's coal mines and, above all, government ownership of patent rights. The only other avenue of seeming escape from the big fellow—if I were not a Socialist, a man of thought and reason—would be as follows: I would from this day plan how to economize, cut my two slaves' wages, rebuke my wife when she shows me, with smiling countenance, what neat, pretty gowns she bought for the children—aye, even cut the expenses of the household to try and buy one of those machines.

The power of the machine held privately—its power to oppress, to rob us of work, to bring a cloud of depression into the family of the worker—robs the breadwinner of steady employment and the children of their childish joys. I won't, though. I won't try to buy that machine in the next three years through self-sacrifice (health sacrifice), as under the most favorable circumstances—no panics, sickness or pleasures—it would take me about that time; only to find out that there is a newer improved machine, out of my reach entirely, that had displaced the now perfect one.

No; I will look to the future. I know the past. The future is bright and full of hope, though thousands of workers fall around us through want, disease and overwork. Yet the laws of capitalist production for profit, and not for use, not only produces crime and the uncertainty of a livelihood, but it has also divided society into two distinct classes—the capitalists and the wage slaves—and by its own unalterable laws it manufactures more wage-workers and less and less capitalists, less private owners of the earth, less manufacturers, less owners of railroads. It cannot stop its own game—it dare not alter its own laws of private ownership of the necessities of life. There is just one other law left, and that is the collective ownership of the necessities of life. Then machinery would be a blessing and a labor-displacer to the workingmen's benefit.

The day for reform is past—gone forever. Therein lies our hope. The day when the few are demanded, by the many—the multitude, the working class—at the ballot box, to surrender the keys of the workshops of the nations is fast coming. The present titles to the earth itself, and the fulness thereon, will then disappear. Then, amidst peace and plenty, we will forever sink those privately owned keys and titles to the earth into a bottomless pit, so that the majority of all of us may have access to the factories, mills and mines, to produce the necessities of life, to yank out our children and women and put the bond-holder, the coupon-clipper, the shyster lawyer, the insurance man, "Uncle Sam's boys" in army and navy, the builders of warships, the makers of cannon and guns to work.

What rest and relief the productive workers of to-day will have with the mother and child, forever freed from mill and factory life.

Man would be free—free to live to think, to speak, to live, to quit deceit and lying (it would not be profitable any more). Fear of the future and want would vanish. Freedom and the right to live a humane life would be gained.

With Comrade Marx I say, and not only say, but to the best that I am able put my saying and hope for the future into action now. With education (our press) speed the day: the day of freedom, truth and justice, by rolling in subscribers to our organ.

I herewith send in twenty-seven subscriptions for the monthly; $3, one day's average wage, from C. Pollard; $2.25, one day's wage from Comrade Kendall, San Antonio. Seven more days' wages will follow from other comrades, including one at 75 cents (a man of family), and $20 for a loan certificate. Fraternally,

C. Pollard.

San Antonio, Tex., June 10, 1903.

The S. L. P. Press and Principles.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Enclosed find $1.50, one day's wages of mine, to help pay off the debt of our fearless press. I believe that every comrade, yes, every sympathizer, if he could realize what amount of good would come of it, would contribute to free the only English daily workingman's paper in the world from all encumbrances, so that it would better be able to continue in its good work.

Continuance of our party press means victory without cessation; discontinuance means at least temporary defeat. Hence comrades and sympathizers who are fortunate enough to have work, with even small wages, such as mine, no doubt would be willing to help in this way, rather than, as suggested by a comrade some time ago, pay a poll tax of $1 each. That would not be equitable, because one would pay more in proportion to his earnings than the other. All are not working, and cannot afford even the bare necessities of life, hence, I suppose, the one day's wages plan.

Now, a few words for the benefit of new comrades or readers in regard to the report of the tenth national convention of the Socialist Labor Party, held in New York City in 1900. I have just finished reading this report, and I am convinced that it is one of the first books that ought to adorn every comrade's home (with other Socialist literature), and I herewith express my gratitude to Comrade H. Weiss for impressing me with the necessity of reading it, in order to fully understand the policy of the S. D. P. and the tactics of the S. L. P.

I am well pleased with the fervency and zeal of the convention. Every delegate taking part did so alert to the future safety of the party. The best ideas prevailed with dignity, as shown by the large majority in favor of the leading points and resolutions.

The appendixes relative to the struggle of 1899, with the traitorous acts of the Volkzeitung and others; also the historical order of the conflicts with that faction—the saving of the party property and press—I recommend to every comrade and sympathizer to read, as they give a true history of the present Socialist Labor Party movement in America, with an explanation of the causes of the differences which are referred to by the writers of articles in The People.

I have also read with great pleasure the books to be had at the Labor News Company, which is also the property of the Socialist Labor Party. I am convinced more than ever before that, while a personal dissatisfaction with the old parties and reform advocates of the present system is an eye-opener, because one then begins to see that things are not right, this is not enough, and that it is, hence, all the more necessary to read and study for yourself the principles of Socialism, which is an entirely new system when compared with the existing one.

To be dissatisfied with the existing system and vote with the S. L. P. is not enough. Unless we know the causes of present conditions and how they will be replaced with better and more equitable ones, we are the sport of our shifting feeling and ideas. Study, then, Socialist literature, as we must first educate ourselves before we can successfully agitate among others and organize them upon strict Socialist Labor Party principles. This the Labor News Company helps us to do.

While I am doomed to remain a wage-slave under the present system, yet the class-consciousness gathered from our party press and principles makes me feel myself a free man.

Oh, that the young folks may awaken to the great future before them, is the hope of John Lindgren.

Brooklyn, N. Y., June 21, 1903.

Section Marion Makes "Socialist" Alias Social Democratic, Speakers Prove Truth of S. L. P. Charges and Apologize for Insulting the Working Class.

To The Daily and Weekly People: The "Socialist," alias Social Democratic Party, held an open-air meeting here on Sunday, June 13, with Mahony, of Marion, Ind., and Edwards, of Chicago, Ill., and "Social Democratic Herald" fame, as the speakers.

Mahony was the first to take the stand and he gave the usual S. P. talk. He made the statement that, "The Socialist party was the only party that stood for the righs of the wage earners." Whereupon he was asked the question, "What's the matter with the Socialist Labor Party?" Mahoney replied: "I will answer that question after a while." He had not resumed his speech long before he was interrupted again, and his attention was called to the fact that he was misrepresenting his party when he said: "Every member of the Socialist party who has been elected has stood by the workingman and fought his battles for him." We called his attention to the record of John W. Kelley, who, as a candidate on the "Socialist," alias Social Democratic ticket, had accepted the indorsement of the regular Democratic party in the First Ward of Marion, and who, after being elected to the City Council, voted a franchise to a number of capitalists. Mahoney told the gentleman who called his attention to the above that he would answer him after the next speaker got through.

He then introduced Edwards, who told us about a conversation he had with a judge in some neck of the woods (we forgot the name he mentioned). We waited until Edwards finished and then asked Mahoney if he was going to answer the questions that were put to him. He said he was, and this is the answer he made:

"Prior to 1890 the Socialist Labor Party, which was made up principally of Germans, carried on an educational campaign throughout the country. About 1892 or 1893 a man by the name of De Leon got into the movement and started to boss things right off. The result was that the best element of the party became disgusted with De Leon and his crowd and withdrew. This De Leon tried to break up the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor, and not succeeding organized the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. You have a fair sample of what the S. L. P. is made up of in this handful of men. They go around trying to break up meetings of the Socialist party. They believe everything De Leon says. They don't read. As to Comrade Kelly voting a franchise to anybody, why, he did not do any such thing. It was the State that granted the company the franchise, AND ALL KELLY VOTED FOR WAS THE RIGHT OF THE COMPANY TO ENTER THE CITY OF MARION ON A CERTAIN STREET."

Continuing, Mahony said: "The Socialist party is not in favor of reaction. It is not in favor of keeping railroads out of Marion. It stands for progress, and Kelly did right in voting to allow that company to enter Marion."

Comrade Loven, of Section Marion, S. L. P., asked Mahoney how about Carey voting in favor of an appropriation of $15,000 to improve the armory at Haverhill, Mass. Mahoney's answer follows:

"The reason Carey voted for that appropriation was on account of the unsanitary condition of the armory. The said appropriation was to be used to put the armory in a sanitary condition."

We certainly had Mahoney going and made him verify every one of the S. L. P. charges in public, though he tried to squirm out of it by his crooked answers.

While Edwards was talking the comrades of Section Marion, S. L. P., were giving out the leaflet, "The Difference; or, the S. L. P. vs. the S. D. P." Mahoney stopped one of them, saying: "What are you doing? I don't think it fair in you to circulate those lies." The comrade asked him if he feared the truth and continued to give the leaflets out.

At the start of Mahony's explanation he declared the questions and leaflet were a lot of lies gotten up by De Leon to injure the "Socialist" party. Nevertheless, Mahony did his utmost to excuse the things he called lies.

Comrade E. J. Dillon then asked the speakers if they would grant him the use of their stand, which they, as lovers of "free speech" and "fair play," refused to do. Nothing daunted, however, Dillon started in and explained that the law Kelly voted for granted a franchise. As Mahony had rightly said, "All Kelly voted for was the right of the company to enter Marion on a certain street." In other words, Kelly voted to give a certain few men, who, if they saw fit, could have you and I put off that same street if we interfered with them in any way. Dillon then went to show that the Social Democrat, Carey, in Haverhill, Mass., had sold out the working class when he voted for that appropriation, inasmuch as when the workers go out on a strike the militia would shoot them down, as was done in Pennsylvania and New York.

Comrade Loven next secured the stand. He showed up the record of Debs, Mitchell, Gompers and the whole gang of fakirs.

Mahony called attention to our grammar. We explained that, owing to the capitalist system, we were compelled to leave school at an early age, so that he would have to charge our lack of grammar up to the system under which we exist, as it was no fault of ours. Mahony saw he had made a mistake and apologized to the crowd for making that assertion.

It was a bad day for the "Socialist," alias Social Democratic party, and they realized the fact long before we got through, for they did not wait for us to get through, "but, like the thief in the night, at the first alarm was off to his lair."

Section Marion intends to make it hot for all frauds here in Marion in the future.

Press Committe,
Section Marion, S. L. P.

Marion, Ind., June 23.

An Ideal Militiaman.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Last Saturday, June 20, the local militia company left here for South Framingham, where the militia companies of the State meet annually to be trained to the work for which the capitalists use them, i. e., to create disorder at strikes and to shoot the strikers into submission.

On Monday a woman whose son is a member of the local company received a letter, signed by another member, saying her son had been shot and his dead body would be sent home on the noon train of that day. The shock nearly killed the mother. It was later discovered that the whole thing was a hoax. The capitalist papers called it a heartless joke. And so it was. Nevertheless, the perpetrator of this joke ought to make an ideal militiaman, for it is just such heartlessness as this that is required when these pets of the capitalists are called upon to point their guns at defenseless workingmen out on strike for better conditions.

The writer asked a shopmate, who is a militiaman, how many strikers he thought he could kill in a given time, and the answer was: "I can shoot all the d—m strikers that ever stood on two feet." That same chap is a "yonion" man, too.

St.

Adams, Mass, June 24, 1903.

The Brauer Zeitung Challenged—Another "Daily People Lie" Refuted Some More.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The Brauer Zeitung, the official organ of the Brewery Workers' Union, accuses a poor kangaroo, who is a member of its organization, of the letter entitled "Another Daily People Lie Refuted—The Brave Men of the A. F. of L." which I wrote and which I signed "A Pure-and-Simple Union Smasher," showing up the crooked work of the fakirs in that body in the recent strike here.

I wish hereby to notify the editor of the Brauer Zeitung that I am the author of that letter, and that if he wishes to measure swords with me let him start in at once; I am ready for him.

I still hold with the men who were on strike, that the strike could have been won had the leaders stood as firm as the men. Let me further state that I defy the author of the article against the S. T. [illegible] A. to carry this fight further. I [illegible] said half of what I know.

Otto Steinhoff,
493 South Third street.

Colu[illegible]s, Ohio, June 21, 1903.

Carter, Editor of the Locomotive Firemen's Magazine, Doing His Duty by the Capitalist Class.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The enclosure is an exact copy of a letter written by W. S. Carter, editor and manager of the Locomotive Firemen's Magazine, to J. E. Seely, of Blueacre, Utah.

The letter speaks for itself, and shows that there is no fear of a failure in the crop of labor fakirs. I hope that space will be found to publish Carter's letter. It seems that it is not the smallest part of Carter's duty to muzzle the slightest tendency toward a revolutionary awakening and keep the rank and file of the Brotherhood in ignorance. Fraternally,

W. W. Evans.

Salt Lake City, Utah, June 17.

[Enclosure.]

May 27, 1903.

Mr. J. E. Seely, Blueacre, Utah.

Dear Sir and Brother—I have your letter of the 19th inst., and but for the fact that the Socialist movement is now considered a full-fledged POLITICAL movement I would be glad to have you write a letter for publication in the Magazine on the subject. I believe that the workingmen at large have much to learn from Socialistic literature, even though they cannot be induced to adopt the entire Socialistic programme.

If we should begin the publication of letters in the Magazine advocating the Socialists as a political party, we would have to accept like political articles from the Democratic and from the Republican party, and this would be in direct violation of the laws of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen.

I would suggest that you write a letter on Social Economy, showing why the people as a whole would be better masters than are the corporations, etc. An article of this nature would not be objectionable, and it would undoubtedly be very interesting; in fact, I believe this would be the better method of procedure. I would caution you to avoid any criticisms of the old parties, for, as you well know, a vast majority of our readers throughout the country belong to the old political parties. Do not denounce capital and employers as such. It would be better to show why they are the creatures of the existing conditions. Under no circumstances should you boom the Socialist party.

I feel sure that, having been a student of social economy, you will be able to contribute articles from time to time for publication in the Magazine that will point an economic moral, be very readable, and at the same time not be objectionable to the most stringent partisans.

I have not yet received a copy of "Public Document No. 33." If I had a copy I would be glad to read it and comment on same.

With best wishes, I remain your fraternally,

Locomotive Firemen's Magazine.
Per W. S. Carter,
Editor and Manager.
Commercial Club Bldg., Indianapolis.

What Does This Mean?

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I see in the Amalgamated Journal of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers that President Shaffer's brother has been appointed to a job by the Governor of Pennsylvania. What does this mean? "No politics in the union," did anyone say?

A. Rougher.

Brooklyn, N. Y., June 18, 1903.

A Correction on "The Telegraphers."

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Referring to the article on the telegraphers in The Sunday People, permit me to say that it is superb. As a telegrapher, there is one mistake that I would like to draw attention to. The article refers to the action of "H. B. Perham, now president of the O. R. T.," in not protesting against the selling out of the telegraphers during the Santa Fe strike. Now, at the time of the Santa Fe strike Perham was General Secretary-Treasurer of the O. R. T., and Dolphin was president. This is a matter of detail, however, and does not affect the general facts or conclusions in the articles.

Perham is closely following in the footsteps of that fakir, Clark, of the O. R. T. I heard Perham declare at the Philadelphia open meeting that he was in favor of an article stating the railroad men should have a clause in their constitution declaring the engineers should not be allowed to use non-union train orders.

Perham is simply a labor contractor of the English "Fabian" school. He is what his father was before him for the past fifty years in England—an advocate of an obsolete form of unionism, organized for the purpose of perpetuating capitalism and taking such crumbs as fall from the capitalist's table.

Regarding Dolphin, if you refer to a letter from A. S. Dowler, of Texas, you will see that he mentions him in connection with the Santa Fe strike. Dolphin formerly held the truth of the antagonistic interests of capital and labor, but is now a good Democrat, who believes in fusing with the little "brothers."

The article on retail clerks is being used by some retail clerks in this city. They have purchased copies and circulated them. They will send over for more this week. Fraternally. A. J. B.

Jersey City, N. J., June 22, 1903.

A Correction.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The minutes of the Missouri State Committee, as published in The Daily People of June 18 and The Weekly People of June 20, were slightly incorrect. The statement "motion adopted to order 400 leaflets from the Labor News Company" should have read, "motion adopted to order 4,000 leaflets," etc. Please make correction.

E. C. Dieckman,
Sec. Missouri State Committee.

[Republished by request.]

Shaffer Scored By An Iron, Steel and Tin Worker.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I wrote to Mr. Ben I. Davis, the managing editor of the Amalgamated Journal, that if he did not intend to publish a letter I sent to him some four weeks ago (of which the enclosure is a copy), to be kind enough to return it to me. As he has seen fit to ignore my request I send the article for publication to The People.

As a member of the Amalgamated Union of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of the United States, I think, I have a right to the free access to the columns of the Amalgamated Journal, especially as I help to sustain the same; but Brother Ben I. Davis does not seem to think as I do. I suppose we are not allowed to criticize the actions of such great misleaders as Mr. Schaffer, our president.

W. D. Maguire.

Brooklyn, May 27.

[Enclosure.]

"To the Editor of The Amalgamated Journal:

"Dear Sir and Brother:—When Shaffer calls Socialists mislead people I think it is time to "call" all such people. By saying that De Leon is a misleader, Shaffer is making the mistake of his life, as there are quite a number of the members who have their eyes on him (Shaffer). The latter is digging his own grave by going arm in arm with such men as Hanna—he even having the nerve to tell us that Hanna is the friend of the working class. And Shaffer expects us to be green enough to swallow such stuff!

"Any workman can see that Hanna wants to be the next President of the country, and that he is trying to 'jolly' us so we will vote for him if he gets the nomination. What has he promised Shaffer for pulling the wool over our eyes?

"It was a mistake for the men who were sent to the convention at Columbus to do their duty to be hob-nobbing with our enemies and trying to sell us out.

"'No politics in the union' has always been the cry of our misleaders, while they have been in politics up to their ears, in order to better their own condition at the expense of the many. And yet they call themselves honest leaders of the working class.

"Shaffer, Mitchell and the other misleaders of the working class know well that we have 85 out of every 100 votes, and that we could have paradise on earth if we were only taught to use the power we have—the power of the ballot. Why do they not lead us in the right path and not try to mislead us? Do they think this thing can go on much longer? I would like to ask Shaffer, Mitchell, or any of the bunch of misleaders, how does it come that 85 per cent. of the population—the working class—who produce everything, have nothing, while 15 per cent.—the capitalist class—produce nothing yet have everything. Mark Hanna is one of the 15 per cent., yet Shaffer tells us he is our brother and friend.

"The Bible says he who does not work shall not eat. To-day the man who does not work eats it all, while the other man who works gets nothing. If labor, with the assistance of nature creates all wealth, why does not all wealth belong to labor? How does it come that when the capitalist class speak of us they say the working class? If the workers produce all the wealth, why are they not the wealthy class and the non-producers the poor class? It seems strange to some of the working class, but not to the Socialists. They know that the working class is being mislead by the Shaffers, Mitchells, etc., who are endeavoring to keep the working class 'in the dark,' in order to 'feather their own nests.'

"Some of the brothers seem to think there are no classes in this country. Well, they are very much mistaken. There are three classes the world over—the working class, the middle class, and the capitalist class. The middle class is fast disappearing, being ground out of existence by the capitalist class—just as though they were between two grinding stones. There was a time when the middle class had a chance to reach the upper class and become capitalists, but the trusts are here and that time has gone by. The sheriff now comes along and sells the small producer out. Where does he go? Why back among the workers. Where else can he go? Thus the working class grows larger.

"As soon as the middle class disappears there will be two classes left—the working class on one side and the capitalist class on the other. The working class will number about 90 per cent. and the capitalist class about 10 per cent. The 10 per cent. will own all the wealth and the 90 per cent. will not be able to exist let alone live. Then there will be a change. This rotten system will have to make way for the Socialist system.

"Now, to the brothers and comrades the world over. All you have to do is to find out what class you belong to. If you don't attend any Seeley dinners; own any yachts; take trips to Europe semi-annually or belong to the 400, you know that you do not belong to that class. Then why should you go up to the polls on election day and vote the same ticket that the capitalist does? If you are not in his class 364 days of the year, why should you be in it on the 365th? You, the workers, are not in the same class as Mark Hanna or Grover Cleveland, and should not vote the same ticket, even if Shaffer, Mitchell and the other misleaders advise you by telling you they are your friends.

"Now, Mr. Shaffer, why don't you, as a labor leader and a teacher, instruct your fellow workmen and brothers where their power lies by showing them how to vote themselves free by voting the Socialist Labor Party ticket? You well know it is time the working class give up both the old parties. If you are an honest labor leader you will admit this. Have we not tried them for years? Now, my dear Mr. Shaffer I do hope you will turn back ere it is too late. Shake Mark Hanna and his kind. Stick to us, your brothers, who have put you where you are to-day. God knows we have troubles of our own and need a good, honest leader. We know you have your temptations and that they are great, but throw them all over your sholdder, and be a man and live up to your obligation. We have the power, if led right, to place you at any height your ambition may lead to, for we have the votes and that is where our power lies. United we stand, divided we fall!

"I feel very sorry for Brother McClelland. He used to have great speed in his legs, but I am afraid it has gone to his head and run off with his brains. The article he had in the Journal last week has made him the laughing stock of the whole country. He should come to New York, and see the company the General Grant, the misleader, of the working class keeps—I mean Mitchell.

"W. D. Maguire.

"No. 103 Dupont st., Brooklyn, N. Y.

LETTER-BOX

Off-Hand Answers to Correspondents.

A. J. V., NEW YORK.—There is no danger in that. The so-called "Socialist" party press may fly off the handle on the "Socialist victories in Germany" without injury to itself—there is nothing to injure there. The danger lies in Europe, France especially. Unless the revolutionary wing of the Socialists there is capable of much self-control, it also may hail this German election as a "Socialist victory"—and it will suffer from the consequences of such utterances when that "Socialist victory" will ripen to the point of the practical bourgeois manifestation of overthrowing that feudal Empire and then recede, before it re-forms and re-constructs its ranks into a genuine Socialist Movement.

L. K., NEW YORK.—The "People" would not take the advertisement of a firm justly boycotted by a Union. The justice of the boycott—where it is not obviously so—would have to be decided by the N. E. C. of the S. L. P. There are boycotts and strikes innumerable that are not manifestations of the class struggle, but of the competitive warfare betwen employers and employers the ill-starred workmen in the Unions being used for food for cannon by one employer against another with the aid of the labor fakir, bought for the occasion. Recent events demonstrate afresh the truth of this. The S. L. P. is not a hand-maid for the fakirs. It does not consider their capers "a noble waging of the class struggle." Consequently it does not abide by their decision. Before the S. L. P. press can be enlisted it must know that it is not fighting for the interests of some capitalist on the warpath against one of its fellows. The S. L. P. is nobody's catspaw.

M. C., WILMERDING, PA.—It is not unlikely that the "Appeal to Reason" may now contain off and on some abstract article on abstract Socialism. It now, for the first time in its history, has a man on it who does have a good deal better than the Salvation Army notion of Socialism. But such matter in such a paper cannot choose but be kicked to pieces by other articles of the regulation "Appeal to Reason" brand.

F. T. R. G., ROCHESTER, N. Y.—The caving in of land is as much an event that happens according to the law corresponding to that field, as the caving in of "business"—the crisis—is an event that happens according to certain laws—economic laws in that case. As the caving in of land can be retarded by shoring up, so can the caving in of business be retarded by financial shoring up. Again, as land can be deliberately caused to cave in, so can business. When capitalist development has reached the plutocratic stage, panics can be brought about artificially, to suit the purpose in hand; and they can be staved off by sacrifices. Banks and plutocratic capitalists are now "spilling" securities in Wall street [read carefully to-day's article "Shadows Ahead"]: in order to get three million dollars, some of them have recently sacrificed not less than one million at a lick. If they did not, the panic would be on now. Of course stavings off generally are done in the hope that "something may turn up" to prevent the caving in. Occasionally the hope is verified.

T. Y. R., COUNCIL BLUFFS, IA.—You don't believe in the millennium-in-a-minute idea? 'Tis to be hoped you don't, seeing you are at large, whereas the "idea" should be confined in a straight jacket. Allow us to introduce you to your real idea: "Seeing a good thing cannot be got in a minute, THEREFORE let it be postponed beyond the time when it could be got."

G. H., NEW YORK.—Indeed, not! 'Tis not BECAUSE of the "Volkszeitung" that Socialism has a footing in America to-day, but, DESPITE that paper. That paper, the Philadelphia "Tageblatt," the now fortunately dead St. Louis "Tageblatt"—all these papers rendered Socialism in America ridiculous and contemptible: they are all business papers, and have acted accordingly. But for them, Socialism would be further to-day. It has had to struggle its way against them.

R. E., NEW YORK.—Drop in and the letter of the Editor of a pure and simple journal will be shown you in which he declines an article from a member of his own organization on the ground that "the Journal can not be used to lambaste labor leaders because they do not look through Socialist glasses"—and yet that same Journal "lambastes" the Socialists "because they do not look through pure and simple glasses". Turn the fakir-managed pure and simple Union as you like and it is tyrannously run in the interest of capitalism.

O. P., TOLEDO, O.—Wear your soul in patience. All you desire to know on the subject you will learn next week. The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labour Party of Great Britain has forwarded to the N. E. C. of the S. L. P. of this country a full official account. Came in too late for this week's issue. Will be in next week. Your ground is therein covered.

R. S. S., WATERBURY, CONN.—Don't allow the fallacies of the Single Tax to throw you off economic plumb. Land is a necessary means of labor. The best tools without the land are useless—the best land without the tools is barren to Labor. What the development of capitalist society has done is to render the landlord pure and simple a subservient factor to the capitalist landlord.

W. D., UTICA, N. Y.—1st—The capital invested in manufacture in Utica was $5,905,635 in 1880; $14,332,310 in 1890; and $19,280,502 in 1900.

2d—In Utica in 1900 there were 420 females engaged in professional service; 1699 in domestic and professional service; 704 in trade and transportation; and 41,053 in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits.

T. O., JERSEY CITY, N. J.—The census figures on Porto Rico are meager. The figures on illiteracy are: 524,878 out of a total population of 659,294. The percentage of illiteracy there is 79.

S. D. L., MILFORD, CT.—The figures for the town of Milford are: 43 manufacturing establishments; capital invested, $365,401; average number of wage earners, 325; total wages, $137,326; cost of materials used, $244,282; and value of product, $502,036.—Now figure it out.

J. M., CINCINNATI, O.—You will never live to see 3,000,000 Socialist votes "officially returned" in the United States. Long before that the capitalist class will have got tired of counting out and will try what the slaveholders tried in 1861—and go down! Even 2,000,000 Socialist votes would here have dynamite enough in them to blow capitalism into kingdom come.

"STUDENT," CAMBRIDGE, MASS.—Hunt up your Longfellow. You will there find this gem of thought—

> The exultation, the divine
> Insanity of noble minds
> That never falters nor abates,
> But Labors and endures and waits
> Till all that it forsees it finds,
> Or what it cannot find, creates.

If Socialism looks to you like insanity, it may be that—but of the kind described in these lines.

A. K., NEW YORK.—That's one way of looking at it. There is another. To ignore the Kangs would be to allow them to go to waste. What would have to be preached theoretical abstraction, can now be preached concretely, and is therefore more telling. The Kang has his usefulness.

A. S., COLUMBUS, O.—Keep it up! The "Brauer Zeitung" is hit hard

F. C. R., NEW YORK.—There is a pile of truth in the criticism, and of sense in the suggestion. Both are thoroughly realized. But do you not perceive progress in the very line that you suggest? Already the Sunday issue is a good paper, as you admit. Do you not notice with increasing frequency that "suppressed news" appears also in the weekly issues? We shall get there by little and little. We who are handling the material difficulties know the thing cannot be done in a day. Friends and party members all over the country are realizing that the line that The Daily People must pursue is to give up all idea of competing with the capitalist press in the kind of news that it will print, and to make a specialty of the kind of news that it suppresses. Such news is coming in more and more steadily. These party friends and sympathizers are getting their hand in, are gathering experience and expertness in ascertaining and forwarding such suppressed news. We'll get there!

T. C., NEW YORK.—From the passage quoted in that newspaper item from the Berlin "Vorwaerts," it would seem that Herr Postal was one of the candidates of the Social Democratic party and that he was elected. [illegible] fact will have to be ascertained before the conclusion is drawn.

G. O., NEW YORK; O. J. H., NEW YORK; A. S. D., SAN ANTONIO, TEX.; R. B., TACOMA, WASH.; D. B. C., DENVER, COLO.; T. A., COLUMBUS, O.; H. S. A., LINCOLN, NEB.; R. O. AND OTHERS LOWELL, MASS.; J. P. A., DALLAS, TEX.; G. J., SCRANTON, PA.; R. R., BOSTON, MASS.—Clippings, matter, etc. received O. K.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.—Pray, don't write on both sides of the paper.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.—No letter is recognized that does not carry a bona fide signature and address.

E. G., PATERSON, N. J.—Read the notice under "Official," page 6 of the Weekly, which states: "For technical reasons no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m." Your notice of the Lyon meeting was received Thursday morning.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.—Other correspondents are requested to wait.

One Day's Wages Fund.

Previously acknowledged	$57.80
Fritz Brauckman, 28th A. D., City	3.00
J. H. Weisberger, 28th A. D., City	2.50
A. Rosenberg, 28th A. D., City	3.50
D. Neuman, 28th A. D., City	2.00
H. Uttal, 28th A. D., City	5.00
C. Bahnsen, 11th and 13th A. D., City	2.50
J. Donahue, 11th and 13th A. D., City	3.00
A. Moren, 30th A. D., City	3.00
G. Styles, 18th A. D., City	2.00
A. Bahnsen, 11th and 13th A. D., City	2.00
C. Pollard, San Antonio, Tex.	3.00
Kendall, San Antonio, Tex.	2.25
A. Piquart, City	2.00
J. Lindgren, City	1.50
L. Katz, City	2.00
J. Neuman, 34th A. D., City	1.50
J. Kiepp (per J. Kelly), City	3.00
J. Urbach (per J. Kelly), City	2.00
P. Fisher (per J. Kelly), City	2.00
J. Job (per J. Kelly), City	1.50
A. Gilhans, City	2.00
Total	$109.05

FOR OVER SIXTY YEARS
An Old and Well-Tried Remedy.
MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP has been used for over SIXTY YEARS by MILLIONS of MOTHERS for their CHILDREN WHILE TEETHING, WITH PERFECT SUCCESS. It SOOTHES the CHILD, SOFTENS the GUMS, ALLAYS all PAIN; CURES WIND COLIC, and is the best remedy for DIARRHOEA. Sold by Druggists in every part of the world. Be sure and ask for
MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP,
AND TAKE NO OTHER KIND.
Twenty-Five Cents a Bottle.

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Secretary, C. A. Weitzel, 236½ Dundas street, London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City. (The Party's literary agency.)
Notice—For technical reasons no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

The Illinois State Executive.

The regular meeting of the Illinois State Executive Committee was held June 14, with Goss in the chair. Absent and excused: Veal, Reed, Surber and Edie.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

Gerolomo Promis, of Lasalle, recommended by Comrade Signori, was accepted as a member-at-large.

Communications: From Duquoin, with resignation of and charges against J. N. Silkwood, with explanations by J. M. Francis. Action: Regisnation accepted because of Silkwood's physical misfortunes, otherwise charges against him would have been sustained. From Comrade Signori, of LaSalle, Koechlin, of Peoria; Barnamen, of Springfield, bearing on party matter, all speaking well of Comrade Pierson's work, especially Springfield, where he spent a week. They say he is a hustler. From Henry Sale, with financial statement of Chicago Defence Fund, which has been sent out. From Comrade Reisenburg, of Chicago, dealing with conditions in that city. From State Solicitor: Organizer reported having answered same, but had received no reply. Several from Pierson, reporting his work in Springfield and Quincy.

Not hearing from the Indiana S. E. C. on the proposed combination, it was decided not to wait any longer, but to keep Pierson in Illinois as long as finances permitted, principally for Peoria and vicinity and the city of Chicago.

Financial report: Stamp fund balance, May 24, $6.92; received of Peoria for by-laws, $1; received of Roanoke for stamps, $3. Total, $10.92. Expenditures for stamps and stationery, $2.40. Balance on hand, $8.52.

State Fund—Balance, May 24, $10; received from Springfield, $4; received from Madison County, $4; received from East St. Louis, $5; received from Peoria, $3; received from Belleville, $3.75; received from Roanoke, $1.75. Total, $31.50.

Expenses: To Pierson on wages, $21.75; for leaflets, $1.35; Post Office orders, 35 cents. Total, $23.45. Balance on hand, $8.05. Comrades of Illinois: You see the receipts and condition of treasury. Do your best; let us keep the god work of Pierson going.

Will W. Cox, Organizer.
Gus Terber, Fin. Sec.

Daily People Auxiliary League.

Socialst Labor Club, Brooklyn, N. Y., $4; Henry Mahland, New York, $5; 28 A. D., New York, $4.60; H. A. Schoeps, Union Hill, N. J., $1; De Lee-Devane, Troy, N. Y., $4; California Members at Large, $24; 11 & 13 A. D., New York, $3; Members of Section Baltimore, Md., $7.45; 14 A. D., New York, $5; Section New Haven, Conn., $8; Section Lynn, Mass., $4; Section Pattom, Pa., $4; Los Angeles, Cal., Daily People League, $10; F. Brune, Brooklyn, N. Y., $5; J. A. Anthony, Cananea, Mexico, $2.50; Scand. Section, New York, $5; Section San Antonio, Tex., $4; John Murphy, New York, $10; 23 A. D., New York, $3.15; A. S. Dowler, Ft. Hancock, Tex., $4; Isadore Klein, New York, $2; H. Blyn, New York, $7; 30 A. D., New York, $1.40; Section Richmond, Va., $4; Section St. Paul, Minn., $10; 7 A. D., Brooklyn, N. Y., 50 cents; Section Philadelphia, Pa., $3.60; Section Allegheny Co., Pa., $14.50; Geo. Anderson, Los Angeles, Cal., $10; Winona, Minn., Daily People League, $4; John Donohue, New York, $5; Section Salt Lake City, Utah, $11; Section Roanoke, Va., $3.40. Total, $194.10. Previously acknowledged, $3,799.15. Grand total, $3,993.25.

Henry Kuhn,
Treasurer, Daily People Auxiliary League.

Massachusetts Contest.

The State Executive Committee of Massachusetts desires to inform the comrades of this State, of the opening of a contest for the largest number of subs. to the Monthly People during a period of ninety days.

Prize: An elegant mandolin case and self-instructor. To be delivered to the winner within thirty days after the close of the contest.

Contest opens July 15. Name and address of each contestant must be sent to the secretary of contest committee.

Conditions of contest:

Open to boys and girls under sixteen years of age.

Necessary number of subs. to qualify, 500. Prize will be awarded to the contestant sending the largest number over 500 subs., which must be in the hands of the undersigned committee before the expiration of ninety days from date of opening of contest.

M. D. FitzGerald,
Sec. Contest Committee,
7 Grunwood Park, Dorchester.
For the S. E. C. of Massachusetts.

Rochester, Attention!

Rochester readers are invited to attend a picnic to be held July 4, at Englesburg Rifle Range. Tickets, 25 cents, exchanged for refreshment coupons on the grounds. The foregoing notice is necessitated by the fact that it rained furiously on Sunday, June 14, which was the date originally selected.

Detroit Picnic.

Don't miss the picnic arranged by Section Detroit, Socialist Labor Party, at North End Summer Garden, Chene street and Smith avenue, on Sunday, July 5. Good music, games and refreshments. Bring your card. It will admit you to the grounds. Without a card admission at the gate will be ten cents. Take Baker street cars out Chene street.

Twin City Excursion.

The sixth annual steamboat excursion given by Sections St. Paul and Minneapolis, Socialist Labor Party, will take place Sunday, July 26, going to Prescott and Lake St. Croix, with steamer J. J. Hill and barge.

Excursion leaves Minnehaha Falls, 9 a. m.; St. Paul, 11 a. m.; returning to St. Paul about 10 p. m.

Fare for round trip, 50 cents.

Children under 12 years, accompanied by parents, free. Only excursion this summer by the S. L. P.

Regarding the Massachusetts Organizer.

To the Members and Sympathizers of the S. L. P. in Massachusetts, Greeting: The S. L. P. has sent Comrade William H. Carroll, of Boston, on a tour of the State of Massachusetts as State Organizer, and desires to call attention to the fact that funds will be needed to carry on this work and that the members and sympathizers must come to the aid of the organizer's fund.

There has been very little response as yet to said fund, and if the agitation in the State is to bear fruit we must have funds at once. The $1 monthly pledge decided on some time ago is in the hands of Comrade James Stevens, 17 Lynde street, Boston, and all donations should be sent to him. This is something the comrades must push with vigor, as the funds on hand will only last a limited time, and, as the Organizer is to be on the road permanently, the party members will have to put their shoulders to the wheel and work hard.

Let us hear from you all along the line, comrades, as the work is important and cannot be allowed to lag behind. Hoping the response will be general all over the State, we remain, yours fraternally for the Massachusetts S. L. P.,

M. D. Fitzgerald,
Dyer Enger,
Edgar E. Chester, Secy.,
Agitation Committee.

Ohio Donations to Daily People.

Robert Christiansen	$2.50
Harry Bratburd	1.50
Herman Sherbarth	3.00
John Kircher	1.50
Total	$8.50

Fabian Essays in Socialism

Essays by G. Bernard Shaw, Sydney Olivier, Sidney Webb, Wm. Clarke, Hubert Bland, Graham Wallas

American Edition, with Introduction and Notes by H. G. Wilshire

PRESS NOTICES

The whole book deserves reading as a thoughtful and interesting contribution to current discussions.—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

We attach great importance to this collection of essays as a fair and competent representation of the Socialist case.—*Co-operative News.*

We think every minister of religion, and every intelligent, earnest Christian ought to read and ponder this most important and fascinating volume.—*The Methodist Times.*

The writers of the "Fabian Essays in Socialism" have produced a volume which ought to be read by all who wish to understand the movements of the time.—*Daily News.*

By far the best account of the basis of Socialism yet published in England, and by their temperate and "evolutionary" spirit cannot fail to be of great service in dispelling much misunderstanding of current Socialism.—*The Academy.*

After a careful and conscientious perusal one is compelled to admit that they are written with conspicuous ability and sagacity from the Socialistic point of view, and that they must mark a departure as notable in social politics as the famous *Essays and Reviews* were in theology.—*The Scots Observer.*

Paper, 25 cents; Cloth, 75 cents

TWENTIETH CENTURY PRESS
17 East 16th Street, NEW YORK

G. E. B., S. T. & L. A.

The regular meeting of the General Executive Board of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was held on Thursday evening, June 11, 1903, at 2-6 New Reade street, New York. Meeting called to order at 8 o'clock. Comrade Gillhaus was elected chairman. Members present, Gillhaus, Olsen, Kinneally, Kopp, French and Crawford; absent, Bartel, without excuse. Minutes of previous meeting read and approved.

Financial reports for the two weeks ending June 10 read, received and placed on file.

General Secretary reported on the agitation work being carried on for the Alliance at Bayonne, N. J., by Section South Hudson County, S. L. P. Saturday afternoon, June 6, there were some 2000 leaflets distributed by the members in the vicinity of the Standard Oil works, the wage slaves employed therein all being favorably impressed with the teachings of S. T. & L. A. In the evening a very successful out-door meeting was held at Twenty-second and Main streets, addressed by Alexander, Kinneally, Corregan, Campbell and Oakes. The audience received in a very attentive and satisfactory manner the revolutionary doctrines of the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. Several hundred more leaflets—"The Manifesto," "New and Old Trades Unions" and "Workingmen and the Trusts"—were distributed, and fifty copies of "What Means This Strike" were sold. Another meeing is to be held in a few weeks, when the work of organization will be continued.

The General Secretary reported that the members of South Hudson County Section deserve unstinted praise for the work they are doing, and if every section of the S. L. P. did likewise the doom of organized scabbery would be at hand, as well as clearing the decks for a fight to a finish against capitalism by the S. L. P.

The General Secretary reported on the work of agitation being done by District Alliance No. 49.

Communications: From Local Alliance No. 356, Braddock, Pa., on organization, etc. From Local Alliance No. 401, Woonsocket, R. I., on organization and local trade conditions. From Local Alliance No. 317, Syracuse, N. Y., on organization work; received and filed. From Local Alliance No. 325, Los Angeles, Cal., on organization work and the progress made by the alliance; received and filed. From Comrade H. J. Schade, of Santa Monica, Cal., on the work of writing articles on the S. T. & L. A. for the official organ, The Daily and Weekly People, advocating that all members of the S. T. & L. A. should take up the work of correspondence for the party press, giving news items appertaining to the economic and political field; the membership will take notice of this and act on it. From Comrade Cunningham, Organizer of Section Erie, Pa., on agitation work; received and filed. From District Assembly No. 21, Hartford, with report of the work being done by the locals attached to the district, the same for publication; also on organization work of the D. A. From D. A. No. 17, Providence, R. I., on the work of organization, giving notice that the D. A. would meet Saturday, June 13 and the work of organizing the N. T. A. of the textile workers would be taken up and pushed. From L. A. No. 396, Skowhegan, Me., on work of organization and asking for information in reference to the trade; the General Secretary said he had turned the matter over to Comrade Powers, of D. A. No. 17, for attention; the Secretary's action was concurred in.

The General Secretary advised the G. E. B. that the time for organization was good in Troy, Albany, Watervliet and Schenectady, and that D. A. No. 22 should have some assistance. After a thorough discussion is was resolved that, after July 4, the work of agitation and organization be taken up in the places mentioned.

A communication was received from The Daily People finance committee explaining the plan of financing and taking up the indebtedness of the party press by the membership of the S. L. P., which should as well be taken up by the membership of the S. T. & L. A. After a discussion the plan was heartily endorsed and the Secretary directed to draw up an appeal to the alliance membership for their co-operation in support of the plan, the same to be sent out, with circular of The Daily People finance committee, to all the D. As. and L. As. attached to the S. T. & L. A.

Committee on by-laws and constitution for the National Trade Alliances reported progress.

After other routine business was transacted the meeting adjourned.

John J. Kenneally, Gen. Sec.

D. A. No. 4, S. T. & L. A.

Regular meeting of District Alliance No. 4 of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance will take place at 105 Prince street, Newark, N. J., at the headquarters of the Egg Candlers Union, on Sunday, July 5, at 3 p. m. Delegates take notice.

Election of officers and other important business will be transacted. The delegates elected to represent the S. L. P. will take notice.

Ernest Ciazzone, Organizer D. A. 4.

Section Essex Council

Regular meeting of Section will be held Sunday, July 5, at 3 p. m., at headquarters, 78 Springfield avenue, Newark, N. J. All members are requested to attend as action will be taken on those comrades absenting themselves from regular meetings during pass year without even offering an excuse.

Frank C. Burgholz,
Organizer.

COWEN'S CALIBRE

Continued from Page One.

thing, and once a worker gets in debt to the company it is all day and all year with him. A machinist told me that he knew several of the craft who never have more than a dollar or two to draw on pay day. Wages are as low as $1.10 and even 85 cents a day for men who watch the gates, and many of the poor devils have been crippled for life by the company's greed for profits and refusal to introduce safety appliances. Not long ago one of the men asked for an extra dollar or two per week, and the clerk informed him that he was indebted at the company's store for over $100. 'Yes,' he said, 'you nearly killed me and now give me 85 cents a day. How can I provide for my family, how can we live on that?' But his pleadings were in vain, and, like his fellow slaves, he is still struggling along; he is still 'thrifty,' but hope is gone. To secure employment in the Cambria plant all workers are compelled to sign an application blank stating that they do not and will not belong to any union while in the corporation's employ.

"A few machinists thought to start a local some time ago. Next morning all were discharged and told straight for what reason by the superintendent. The homes (?) of the lower-priced workmen would be a disgrace to Russia in its worst districts, and it seems to me that here is a place for the Hanna-Gompers Civic Federation to do effective work instead of compromising strongly organized lodges in getting their rights. The building trades are doing some organizing, and in some instances have raised wages and shortened hours, but there is a tremendous amount of work to be done yet."

You see, Socialist (?) Governor (?) Cowen does not attack the Hanna-Gompers Civic Federation, but, on the other hand, infers that from them you may get effective work. Effective work? Yes, effective in bringing about "harmonious relations between capital and labor" at the expense of labor—effective in blotting out the class struggle, and effective in going to show that the interests of capital and labor are identical and that capital is only labor's big brother. Civic Federationist Isaac Cowen, Kangaroo candidate for Governor of Ohio, is certainly not closs conscious, and of that we need no further proof than the above article, culled from a Socialist (?) paper favorable to Isaac and his party. "Out of his own mouth, doth he stand condemned."

The nail driven by the United Trades and Labor Council about a month ago was clinched on the 11th and 18th of this month.

On June 11, by a unanimous vote, the United Trades and Labor Council, after hearing from the investigating committee appointed three weeks previous, decided to form a branch of the Civic Federation in Cleveland. Following is the report of the investigating committee, composed of these members of the United Trades and Labor Council: George E. Lee, C. B. Smith, B. W. Patmore, I. J. Masten, E. Neiding, Thomas Beiersmith, Harry D Thomas (late Socialist (?) candidate for Mayor), S. S. Stillwell, C. F. Schmidt (Kangaroo), A. D. Sheriff, Frank Paplowsky, H. D. McGregor, Dahlman (Kangaroo), Malley and Harrison: "After a full investigation as far as we can make at this time, having met the manufacturers in joint committee, with Samuel Mather as chairman, and Harry Thomas as secretary, we discussed the matter at length, and in view of the fact that we have received favorable communication from other sources, notably Samuel Gompers (sic) and John Mitchell (sic), we decide to recommend the election of fifteen men, no two from the one trade, to represent the labor unions in the Federation. We also recommend that immediate action be taken, owing to the complicated conditions in our city."

After a lengthy debate it was decided to nominate and elect the fifteen men who should constitute the labor portion of the Cleveland Civic Federation branch at the next meeting.

On June 18 the act of infamy was completed by the United Trades and Labor Council by the nomination and election of the following traitors to the class struggle, to represent organized labor in the Cleveland Civic Federation branch, to wit: W. J. Cannon, Harry Thomas (late "Socialist" (?) candidate for Mayor), Frank Poplowsky, Wesley Workman (Kangaroo), Peter Hassenpflue, James Reynolds, H. D. McGregor, John E. Patton, Booth Thompson, A. D. Sheriff, Frank Sullivan, William Millson, Peter Curley, Philip Hyle and Albert Liebig. I brand them, one and all, as Traitors to Labor's Cause!

X.

Officers of Section Woburn, Mass.

At the last meeting of Section Woburn, Mass., these officers were elected:

Organizer, William E. Fresh; Recording Secretary, John Gately; Agent of The People, James L. McDermott; Financial Secretary and Treasurer, John Bradley; Grievance Committee, John Bradley, Joseph Curley and John Kogan; Press Committee, William O'Brien, W. E. Fresh and Peter Neilson; Agitation Committee, W. E. Fresh, John Gately and Peter Neilson; Auditors, Iver Paulson and William O'Brien.

Organizer.

L. A. 345, S. T. & L. A.

After July 1 the headquarters of Pioneer Mixed Trades Alliance, L. A. 345, S. T. & L. A., will be located at 175 Seventh street, San Francisco, Cal. All communications, papers, etc., intended for the local should be sent to that address.

S. B. France, Organizer.

Fire Fund of the German Party Organ.

Previously acknowledged, $430.70; F. Hinz, Hoboken, N. J., 50c; Edward Haerbich, Belleville, Ill., 25c; Henry G. Meyer, Belleville, Ill., 25c; G. Poltman, Paterson, N. J., 25c; Gustav, Coshocton, O., $5.

Per G. Ghermann, on List No. 4: H. L. Kuhn, $1; Brewers' Union No. 17, Cleveland O., $10.

Per A. Francis, New York, on List No. 37: A. Francis, 50c; Feiarid, 25c; total, 75c.

Per Friedrich Lechner, Hartford, Conn.: Section Hartford, $5: H. Ramler, $1; H. Bruggestat, 50c; L. Ruppert, $1; A. Lobmyer, 50c; W. Marschal, 50c; A. Rein, 50c; W. Peskowitz, $1; P. Schissel, 25c; A. Matthews, 25c; N. Queenitsch, 25c; F. Kieth, 50c; E. Hutzler, 25c; J. Schindler, $1; F. Weiss, 50c; L. Newhouse, 50c; L. Matthews, 50c; J. Lambert, 25c; J. Aschatz, 25c A. Girginsky, 50c; N. N., 25c; J. J., 25c; A. Roesner, 25c; P. Rudolph, 25c; E. Roedel, 25c; F. Knotek, 50c; L. Nher, 50c; F. Warounig, 25c; F. Koeller, 25c; H. Pikard, 25c; H. Mayer, 25c; F. Gayer, 50c; J. Howard, 25c; A. Schroll, 25c; R. Muden, 25c; S. J., 25c; A. Pfeiler, 25c; total, $20.

Per John Eiben, Cleveland, O., on List No. 14: John Eiben, 50c; George Muller, 50c; Casper Schuster, $1; Jacob Eiben, 50c; Louis Goebl, 50c; Robert Wagner, 50c; R. Ludwig, 25c; Martin Mayor, 25c; John Glosner, 50c; Victor Goebl, 50c; Richard Meder, $1; total, $8.

Per A. Mitchell, Cleveland, O.: John Koenig, $1; John Mantel, $1; total, $2.

Per Frank Erben, Cleveland, O., on List No. 2: Frank Heissler, 50c; Mr. Schey, $1; M. Dreyer, 50c; A. Schramhofer, 50c; L. Toth, 25c; Stapel, 25c; C. Hagerdon, $1; Carl Milbrandt, 50c; Carl Cordes, $1; total, $5.50.

Per Louis C. Haller, Los Angeles, Cal.: Charles Fink, $1 Fred Hoehl, $1.75; H. J. Schade, $1; B. Jenson, 50c; total, $4.25.

Per W. F. Rohloff, Buffalo, N. Y.: Jacob Meyer, $1; A. Hillebrand, 50c; W. F. Rohloff, 50c; total, $2.

Grand total, $488.45.

In the receipts for the above fund previously published in thes columns the name of Peter Goesser, Los Angeles, Cal., take. The total amount, however, was correct as published.

The material purchased by means of this fund—type, furniture, etc.—is the who donated $1, was left out by misproperty of the Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung, that is, the S. L. P. Comrades and organizations who have heretofore believed that if would be otherwise should not now hesitate to contribute to this fund.

Lists for this fund can be had on request. Sozialistische Arbeiter Zeitung.
193 Champlain st., Cleveland, O.

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